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FROM

Prof. M. H. Morgan

ALLYN AND BACON'S COLLEGE LATIN SI
UNDER THE GENERAL EDITORSHIP OF
JOHN C. ROLFE, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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CICERO

TUSCULAN DISPUTATIOI

I · II · V

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

H. C. NUTTING
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Boston
ALLYN AND BACON
1909

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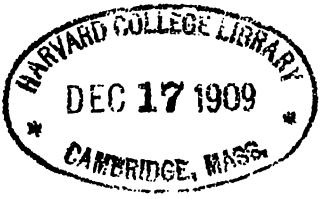

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PREFACE

THE fact that the *Tusculan Disputations* are read less than was formerly the case is perhaps due in part to the lack of an edition in English suitable for general classroom use. If so, it is hoped that the present volume may meet this need. With proper helps, Books I and II are not too difficult for even the early years of the college course, and in content they are admirably adapted for the work of that period. Certainly no one of Cicero's longer philosophical treatises now extant can rival the *Tusculan Disputations* in human interest; and the fact that in this work Cicero joins himself to the immortal band who caught something of Socrates' faith, thus leading a revolt against the tide of gross materialism which was sweeping over Italy, is a circumstance that entitles him to a general and sympathetic hearing. With this thought in mind the notes on Books I and II have been adapted somewhat more carefully to the needs of students in the first two years of the college course.

Various considerations led to the exclusion of Books III and IV from this edition, among others the compass of the volume itself. The omission of these books scarcely mars the unity of the treatise as a whole, for their substance is summed up at the beginning of Book V. This last-named book, from the point of view of abstract philosophy, is by far the most important division of the work, and in it advanced students will find a somewhat easy gate to the more difficult *de Finibus*.

Somewhat extended classroom experience has shown that the chief difficulty encountered in handling the philosophical works of Cicero is that the connection of thought easil

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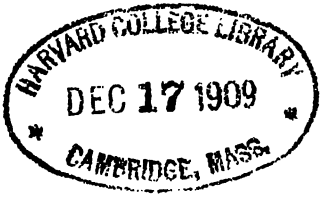

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writings are not merely a compilation of the views of others, but have as much independent value as those of certain Greek writers who had elaborated upon the productions of their predecessors. He might with justice have added that many cultured Romans who were interested in things Greek found it far simpler to grasp a subject when it was presented to them in Latin, as in the case, for example, of his learned and genial friend Gaius Trebatius, to whom the Greek of Aristotle proved anything but lucid (*cf. Topica* 1. 1 ff.). As a matter of fact Cicero's labors in this field were abundantly justified by the outcome — indeed in the centuries immediately following few other works on philosophy were read as diligently as his.

5. The field of Greek philosophy falls into three main divisions: physical science, logic, and moral philosophy. The earliest Greek philosophers busied themselves largely with the first of these branches, indulging in endless speculation as to the nature of things and the construction and ordering of the universe. This aspect of philosophy did not appeal strongly to Cicero, and he accordingly has little to say of the philosophers of the early period. In the *Tusculan Disputations* references to them are found most frequently in Book I, in connection with the discussion of the nature and destiny of the soul. Three of these pre-Socratic philosophers deserve notice here:

(*a*) Pythagoras (born about 580 B.C.), a native of Samos, is reputed to have made long journeys in search of wisdom. Settling finally in southern Italy, he there founded a school. Holding that number is the fundamental principle of the universe, Pythagoras taught that all phenomena are reducible to harmonious schemes or ratios, this theory being doubtless suggested by his studies in arithmetic, astronomy, and music. He taught also the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, apparently conceiving of this process as a means of purification, the good at last attaining to incor-

poreal existence, while the bad gravitated to lower forms. Pythagoras' system did not neglect the ethical side, but inspired self-restraint and uprightness. His disciples were banded together into a secret brotherhood, admittance to which was carefully guarded. The confidence of the Pythagoreans in the judgment of their founder was so complete that *ipse dixit* was counted by them a conclusive argument touching any question. To this school belonged Archytas of Tarentum (died about 394 B.C.), who is often mentioned by Cicero.

(*b*) Empedocles (born about 500 B.C.) was a native of Agrigentum in Sicily, where he distinguished himself not only as a philosopher, but also as a statesman and poet, giving much attention also to natural history and medicine. He was perhaps the first to advocate the theory that all things are evolved from four primary elements, namely earth, water, air, and fire. Of these four elements he considered fire the chief, as being most rarified and powerful. Soul, according to his view, is a function of the four primary elements; and since, as he thought, these elements are most thoroughly mixed in the blood, he concluded that soul has its seat there especially. He seems not to have attempted to reconcile this teaching with the doctrine of transmigration which he also advocated.

(*c*) Democritus (born about 460 B.C.) was a native of Abdera in Thrace. He, as well as Pythagoras, is said to have journeyed far and wide in search of wisdom. The atomic theory already advanced by his elder contemporary and friend Leucippus was accepted and amplified by him, thus furnishing a basis for the later work of Epicurus (p. 11. 24, note[1]) and Lucretius (*cf.* § 3). Democritus taught that soul is simply globular atoms of fire diffused through every portion of the body and imparting motion to it. The story

[1] *This and similar* references are to the text of this edition.

that he destroyed his eyesight in order to withdraw more completely into the realm of undisturbed thought is of doubtful authenticity.

6. With Socrates of Athens (469–399 B.C.) a new era in Greek philosophy began. Hitherto the subject of ethics had received only moderate attention, but now it was given the foremost place. To Cicero, who was interested chiefly in this branch, it seemed that philosophy proper began with Socrates, the man who called down that discipline from its wandering among the stars and made it a practical help toward right living (*cf.* p. 88. 9 ff.). Socrates did not commit his views to writing, but his life and teachings are portrayed in the works of Plato and Xenophon, two of his hearers. The latter of these, a soldier and man of affairs, left a somewhat rough and ready pen picture of the friend he admired, while Plato, who was united to Socrates by the closest bonds of sympathy, devoted the powers of his great genius to the task of transmitting to posterity some adequate conception of the life and work of his beloved teacher. In composing the first book of the *Tusculan Disputations* Cicero has frequent recourse to the three dialogues of Plato which deal with the closing chapter of Socrates' life: the *Apology*, in which are recorded the addresses which Socrates is represented as delivering before the juror-judges at the time of his trial on the trumped-up charges of impiety and corruption of the young; the *Crito*, which portrays Socrates in prison under sentence of death, and yet unwilling to make use of the unlawful means of escape which friends have put into his hands; and the *Phaedo*, in which are recorded the events of the last day of Socrates' life — how his disciples came to the prison early in the morning, before the gates were opened, to spend this final day as they had spent many others, in communion with their master; how he discoursed to them calmly and hopefully of the reasons for his belief in the immortality of the soul; and how, among weeping

friends, he cheerfully drained the deadly cup, accepting without question the penalty which the law in due course had imposed upon him. It seems evident that Cicero did not everywhere grasp the fulness of Plato's thought; but he was profoundly moved, as thoughtful men of all ages must be, by the portrayal of Socrates' life and death.

7. Socrates' versatility, and the deep impression made by his teaching, resulted in the establishment of several different schools of philosophy. In fact the Academy, the Peripatetics, the Stoics, and the Epicureans (the only four sects of any importance at the time of Cicero's writing) all derived their doctrines more or less fully, and more or less directly, from him. Thus the Academic School was established by Plato, and the Peripatetic by Aristotle, Plato's most brilliant pupil; the Stoic School was an outgrowth of the Cynic, which had been founded by Antisthenes, a disciple of Socrates, and Epicurus drew his doctrine in part from the Cyrenaic School, whose founder (Aristippus) was also Socrates' pupil. These four schools varied widely in their views on several subjects, among others on the question of the *summum bonum*, the nature and destiny of the soul, and the limitations of human knowledge. In the following discussion[1] the Academy, though chronologically first, is for convenience treated last, inasmuch as it was to this school that Cicero himself professed allegiance.

8. The Peripatetic School, originating with Aristotle of Stagira in Macedonia (384–322 B.C.), was so named from the circumstance that the founder and his disciples strolled about as they talked, their meeting place being a gymnasium at Athens known as the Lyceum. Touching the question of the *summum bonum*, this school held that all good and evil falls under three heads, namely bona et mala animi

[1] *This discussion is limited to matters of importance for the understanding of the Tusculan Disputations.*

(*i.e.* virtue and its opposite), *bona et mala corporis*, and *bona et mala fortunae*. Of these three classes the first was held to be by far the most important, virtue being thus recognized as the *summum bonum*, and its opposite as the *summum malum*. Since, however, they postulated other classes of good and evil than *bona et mala animi*, the Peripatetics were frequently criticised for maintaining, along with almost all other philosophers, that virtue is in and for itself a sufficient basis for happy living. They however justified their position by pointing out the vast difference in degree between *bona et mala animi* and the other classes of good and evil, a difference in their opinion so great as to justify ignoring the latter in this connection; or, on the other hand, by arguing that the state attainable through unattended virtue deserves the name of happy living (*vita beata*), although there is a stage beyond (*i.e. vita beatissima*) which is reached only through a combination of all three classes of good.

9. The Peripatetics whom Cicero has occasion to cite in the parts of the *Tusculan Disputations* included in this volume were for the most part somewhat lacking in orthodoxy. Four of them were pupils of Aristotle himself: namely, Theophrastus of Lesbos, successor to the presidency of the school, who was unable to reconcile the Peripatetic doctrine of a triple good and evil with the thesis that virtue is in and for itself a sufficient basis for happy living; Aristoxenus of Tarentum, a celebrated musician, who advocated the theory that soul is a mere function of the body; Dicaearchus of Messana in Sicily, who wrote two series of books to show that there is no such thing as soul in the proper sense of that word; and Hieronymus of Rhodes, who held that the *summum bonum* is not virtue, but freedom from pain. To a later period belong Critolaus of *Phaselis (about 175* B.C.) and his pupil Diodorus of Tyre, *the latter of whom* advocated a composite summum bonum,

namely virtue combined with freedom from pain. Cicero regarded Aristotle, the founder of this school, as second only to Plato as a writer on philosophy, and was highly pleased also with the attention given by him to oratory.

10. The Stoic School, originating with Zeno of Citium in Cyprus (362–264 B.C.), took its name from the fact that Zeno's lectures were delivered in a certain portico (στοά) at Athens. Touching the question of the *summum bonum*, the Stoics went a step farther than the Peripatetics, claiming that *virtus* and *dedecus* are not merely the greatest, but also the *sole* good and evil. All things lying outside these two categories (*e.g. valetudo*) they therefore regarded as neither good nor bad, and, accordingly, as of no real consequence (ἀδιάφορα). They admitted, however, that things ἀδιάφορα are not all on a dead level, some such things being desirable, others to be avoided (*cf.* p. 102: 22, note). This statement of faith was counted sophistical by some, who maintained that to talk of desirable and undesirable ἀδιάφορα was in fact to admit the existence of other good and evil than *virtus* and *dedecus*, and that Zeno had merely dressed up with new names the triple division of good and evil advocated by the Peripatetics (see § 8). The Stoics strenuously denied that this was the case, feeling that to admit the existence of any good but *virtus* and of any evil excepting *dedecus* would imperil the thesis that *virtus* is in and for itself a sufficient basis for the happy life, and in fact that it would wreck their whole well-balanced system. The immortality of the soul in the strict sense of that term was denied by the Stoics; for they held that, after leaving the body, the soul disintegrates sooner or later, ceasing thus to enjoy separate and individual existence.

11. In the *Tusculan Disputations* the discussion often centres around the Stoic view, and Cicero frequently has occasion to mention by name various adherents of the

school. Among those thus mentioned are four of Zeno's own pupils: Cleanthes of Assus in Asia Minor, who succeeded his master as head of the Stoic School; Dionysius of Heraclea, who on falling sick abandoned his Stoic faith because he could no longer believe that pain was not an evil; Aristo of Chios, who, unlike the Stoics generally, did not admit that there were gradations in things ἀδιάφορα, but insisted that everything belonging to that category was equally and absolutely a matter of indifference; and Erillus of Carthage, who agreed with Aristo in this last particular, but held *scientia* rather than *virtus* to be the *summum bonum*. To the same period belongs Chrysippus of Soli in Cilicia, a pupil of Cleanthes. Panaetius of Rhodes, a Stoic of the following century, spent many years at Rome in close friendship with Africanus the Younger, and then, after returning to Greece, assumed the presidency of the school, a position which he held until his death (about 111 B.C.). In Cicero's own day the most prominent exponent of Greek Stoicism was a pupil of Panaetius, namely Posidonius, whose lectures at Rhodes Cicero himself attended (*cf.* § 2). Cicero seems also to have visited the lecture room of a certain Dionysius at Athens; and the blind Stoic Diodotus lived for many years an honored inmate of Cicero's own home (*cf.* again § 2).

12. Epicurus of Samos (341–270 B.C.), founder of the school which bears his name, drew his inspiration in the department of physical science from the atomic theory of Democritus (*cf.* § 5 *c*). Holding thus a strictly materialistic conception of the nature of the soul, he naturally rejected the doctrine of immortality. On the question of the *summum bonum* his view was influenced by the teaching of the Cyrenaics, a fact which in a certain way brings him into historical connection with Socrates (see § 7). According to his theory, pain (*dolor*) is the summum malum, the *summum bonum* being pleasure (voluptas) or freedom

from pain (*indolentia*). Starting from this beginning, which at first sight looks rather unpromising, Epicurus built up a very fair system of moral philosophy. His critics, however, who seem for the most part not to have given him a very careful hearing, have always been prone to take for granted that in speaking of pleasure he was thinking solely or largely of pleasure of sense rather than of mind. The exigences of the plan of the *Tusculan Disputations* make Cicero at one time the opponent, at another the friendly expositor, of Epicurean sentiments, the contrast thus afforded being both striking and instructive; but almost everywhere he speaks as an opponent, welcoming any opportunity to discredit Epicurus by putting his views in the worst possible light.

13. The pupils and followers of Epicurus regarded their founder with a feeling akin to veneration (*cf.* p. 22. 7), an attitude which he himself seems to have been all too willing to encourage. His favorite disciple was Metrodorus of Lampsacus, who was to have succeeded to the presidency of the school, but who died before his master. Metrodorus defined the *summum bonum* as being a sound body and the assured prospect of maintaining its perfect condition. As previously noted, certain Roman Epicureans of the type of Gaius Amafinius at the time of Cicero's writing had already done much to popularize the ideas of Epicurus in Italy. The deficiencies of their style which so displeased Cicero (*cf.* § 3) were perhaps in part due to the traditions of the Epicurean School; for the Epicureans in general gave little attention to rhetoric and to the department of logic.

14. The Academic School, founded by Plato of Athens (427–347 B.C.), derived its name from the gymnasium where Plato lectured, in the suburbs of that city. In the history of this *school Cicero* recognizes two main stages, distinguished by the terms Old Academy and New Academy

The view of the Old Academy touching the question of the *summum bonum* he counts as being in substantial agreement with that of the Peripatetics (*cf.* § 8). To this earlier period of the school's history belong Speusippus, nephew of Plato, and Xenocrates of Chalcedon and Polemo of Athens, all three of whom, after the founder, were successively presidents of the Academy. Of these Xenocrates taught that the soul is simply a number. Heraclides of Pontus, a pupil of Plato and Aristotle, and Crantor of Soli in Cilicia, a pupil of Xenocrates, are also mentioned by Cicero. It was upon Crantor's work περὶ Πένθους that Cicero modelled the *Consolatio* which he wrote after the death of Tullia (*cf.* § 17).

15. Arcesilas of Aeolis, who became president of the Academy about 275 B.C., introduced a profound change into Academic doctrine, and with him the New Academy begins. Outside of the Academy the sentiment had been for some time growing that sense impressions are unreliable, and that there is no such thing as absolutely certain human knowledge. Pyrrho of Elis had brought the arguments for this view into an orderly system, becoming thus the founder of the Sceptic School. This line of thought found ready acceptance with Arcesilas, who now proceeded to make it the dominating note of the Academy, believing that full warrant for this course could be found in the teachings of Plato. The introduction of the sceptical platform into the doctrine of the Academy swept away all the other tenets of that school; for those who hold that there is no such thing as certain human knowledge cannot consistently assert their unqualified belief in any other doctrine whatsoever. The situation was saved by Carneades of Cyrene (about 150 B.C.), who, while admitting that absolutely certain human knowledge is unattainable, still asserted that it is possible for the human mind to arrive at a degree of probability sufficient for all practical purposes. In con-

formity with this view the New Academy in its discussions sought, not ultimate and absolute truth, but rather the most probable view (*veri simillimum*) touching a given question. Such an attitude was most favorable to free and untrammelled discussion, and, through it, to the progress of thought, presenting thus a sharp contrast to the procedure in some other schools, of whose adherents Cicero says that they were so shackled by the dogmas to which they had sworn allegiance that they were actually compelled at times, in order to escape a charge of inconsistency, to defend views which, as a matter of fact, they did not approve. Touching the question of the *summum bonum*, Carneades championed the view that the greatest good consists in the enjoyment of nature's fundamental blessings (*cf.* p. 116. 25, note). Other Academic philosophers of this later period whom Cicero mentions are Charmadas, Metrodorus of Scepsis, and his own instructor Philo of Larissa, who came to Rome in 88 B.C. During his trip abroad (*cf.* § 2), Cicero also attended the lectures of Antiochus of Ascalon, who called himself an adherent of the Old Academy, but who really was an eclectic, drawing his creed from the doctrines of the Stoics, the Peripatetics, and Plato. At a later period Cicero was on very friendly terms with Aristus, the brother of Antiochus, who likewise professed allegiance to the Old Academy.

16. It is hardly to be wondered at that Cicero declared himself an adherent of the New Academy. For with the rigor of its one tenet broken by Carneades (*cf.* § 15), the method of this school was such as to appeal to one of his temperament and legal training; for bigoted dogmatism was not much to his taste, and his practice as a pleader had doubtless taught him that nearly every question has two sides. Consequently, the freedom and charity of the *Academic attitude, with* its welcome for any and all views, *he found very congenial*; and the abundant opportunity

thus afforded for discussion and debate was a consideration of some importance to one so fond of oratory. Thus in working out his plan of presenting in a rather impartial way the best essays of Greek thought in the whole field of philosophy, he doubtless found the application of Academic methods not only convenient, but natural as well; in fact he had here but to apply the principles of his practice as an advocate. For, regarding the latter, he states frankly that he believes it the business of a lawyer to win his case, unconcerned whether what he finds it expedient to say on one occasion agrees with what he has already said at another time or not; and, in the same way, when speaking as an Academic philosopher he was free to advocate any given view to the best of his ability, quite disregarding what he had previously said or represented himself as saying. With this method of presentation he was perhaps the more content through the realization that, with the limited time at his disposal, it was impossible to weigh fairly and judge between the widely conflicting views with which he had to deal; it was a far simpler matter to give all views a hearing. As the event has proved, it is not wholly a misfortune that he was content with this method; for the originals from which he drew directly or indirectly are in many cases lost, and the preservation of their content is a service of no small worth.

17. Having set about his self-appointed task of producing philosophical treatises in Latin, and being temporarily forced out of public life and under the pressure of a personal grief which rendered exacting toil an imperative necessity (*cf.* § 2), Cicero brought out his works in rapid succession. The series included, among others, the following treatises: the lost *Hortensius*, which championed the cause of philosophy against the critics who thought that *discipline of little worth*; the now fragmentary *Academica* (*cf. p. 55. 26, note*), which was devoted to a consideration

of the views of the school to which Cicero himself professed allegiance (*cf.* §§ 15–16); five books *de Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, dealing with what Cicero regarded as the most fundamental problem of philosophy, namely, the question of the *summum bonum;* the five *Tusculanae Disputationes*, treating of the conditions essential to happy living; three books *de Natura Deorum*, two books *de Divinatione*, and the treatise *de Fato*, which last has been preserved only in part; and three books *de Officiis*, a work on ethics. All these were written in the short space of two years (45–44 B.C.), and to the same period belongs also the lost *Consolatio*, in which Cicero brought together all the lines of thought that might comfort him in his grief at Tullia's death, together with the shorter treatises *de Senectute* and *de Amicitia*. As the series progressed Cicero's enthusiasm increased, and at times he would fain believe that the study of philosophy is, after all, the thing most worth while. But his instinctive Roman preference for a life of public activity was merely held in abeyance for the time being, and he was quite ready a little later to turn abruptly from his philosophical writing when a change of circumstances opened to him once more a sphere of usefulness in the field of official service to the state.

18. For his philosophical writings Cicero nearly always chooses the dialogue form as used by Aristotle and Heraclides,[1] *i.e.* he puts a continuous discourse into the mouth of a chief speaker, leaving very unimportant parts to the other interlocutors, a device which would naturally appeal to one of his oratorical tastes. In the setting of the dialogues, too, he follows Greek models more or less closely. The scene is usually laid at a country estate, where some congenial friends are represented as meeting and falling into an interesting discussion. Sometimes the conversation

[1] *Cf.* § 14 *fin.*

takes place in the library or in an open portico, sometimes the speakers sit out under the shade-trees, and in one case they adjourn to a little island about which cool waters are flowing. These scenes depict Cicero and his friends in a very attractive light, and strongly remind one of the cultured literary circle in which Horace moved. Doubtless they had some foundation in fact; for in literary matters Cicero was a generally recognized authority, and when he withdrew to his villas for the purpose of study and writing, his leisure was often broken by visits to and from friends. That in these pleasant surroundings there often occurred discussions of the topics treated by Cicero in his philosophical works can hardly be doubted, though it may be admitted that, in order to compliment friends by introducing them as interlocutors, he sometimes assigns parts in the dialogues to persons who were not deeply interested either in philosophy or in Greek culture generally.

19. The setting of the *Tusculan Disputations* may have been suggested by the fact that during the period of his enforced retirement from public life Cicero conducted at Tusculum a school of oratory for young men. At any rate, in this treatise he represents himself as at his Tusculan villa, lecturing in the morning on oratory and devoting the afternoons to discourses on the subject of happy living. Five such discourses constitute the *Tusculan Disputations*. In each case the lecturer asks some one of the young men present to propose a thesis for discussion, and then, after a few preliminary questions and answers, he proceeds to deliver a practically continuous discourse, the aim of which is to refute the thesis suggested.

20. A series of "dialogues" constructed on this plan and with theses all looking in the same general direction is scarcely calculated to exhibit the theoretically impartial attitude professed by the New Academy. The case was far different in those treatises in which the various con-

flicting views touching a given question are put into the mouth of different speakers in successive books; as, for example, in *de Divinatione*, where Cicero represents himself and his brother Quintus as discussing the question whether the gods make known their will to men through divination. Quintus takes the affirmative in Book I, and Cicero himself upholds the negative in Book II. Both sides of the question are thus fully presented and there is no attempt to force a conclusion, the reader being left to take his choice of the views expounded. Such a method as this would not have served at all Cicero's purpose in writing the *Tusculan Disputations*. For in this treatise he has a professed and definite aim, namely, to help the reader toward happy living. It would therefore have been very little to the point in Book I, for example, to set forth with equal eloquence the pros and cons of the thesis "Death is an evil," leaving it to the hearer to accept the view which seemed to him most plausible (*cf.* § 15); on the contrary, it was absolutely essential to the unity and purpose of the work as a whole for the speaker to refute that thesis, and it is to this task that he earnestly addresses himself. This plan of lecturing against a proposed thesis was much practised by the New Academy as a means of discouraging dogmatic assertion by showing how strong a case could be made out against any view whatsoever. Cicero here applies the plan in a somewhat different way; but in general he seems to have regarded it with no very great favor, on the ground that it was too suggestive of the methods of the sophists, whose boast it was that they were competent to discuss any topic at a moment's notice and without any special preparation.

21. A touch of Academic catholicity is found in Books I and V of the *Tusculan Disputations* in that the speaker there attempts more or less consistently to convince the *hearer that the thesis* proposed is false, whatever may b *the school of thought to* which he is attracted. In this w

considerable latitude of opinion might be allowed in matters aside from the main conclusion which the speaker desires in each case to enforce; but unfortunately Cicero does not utilize this possibility to the full; in fact, he seems at times to be quite oblivious of the ultimate purpose of his lecture as a whole, freely introducing partisan utterances which seriously mar its unity. Thus in Book V it is his aim to show ultimately that virtue is a sufficient basis for happy living, whatever view the hearer may hold touching the *summum bonum*. Yet he begins the book as an ardent advocate of the Stoic system, showing not merely that virtue is a sufficient basis for happy living on the Stoic assumption that *virtus* is the *solum et summum bonum*, but contending energetically that this thesis cannot possibly be maintained on any other assumption. Thus the first part of Book V is quite incompatible with the later chapters in which he wishes to demonstrate that the tenets of the other schools touching the *summum bonum* also lead to the conclusion which it is the purpose of the book to establish. It is quite possible that Cicero was led thus to mar the unity of these lectures through following too closely the Greek originals from which he drew his material, not noticing that along with the main line of argument which he wished to incorporate he was including partisan utterances quite at variance with the ultimate purpose of a lecture as a whole. Had his life and leisure been prolonged, it may be that further revision would have eliminated some of the inconsistencies and blemishes that now mark this treatise.

22. As already indicated, the *Tusculan Disputations* deal with the question of happy living. Book I aims to contribute to such living by marshalling arguments to show *that the* fear of death is groundless, whether this inevitable *experience of mortality* means extinction for the soul, or *whether it is simply* the gateway into a larger and fuller

life. Here Cicero often cites Plato, and catches something of Socrates' serene confidence in a happy life beyond the grave, the arguments brought together in support of the view that the soul is immortal illustrating in a striking way the upward striving of the human mind even where the direct light of revelation has not fallen. The fact of Tullia's recent death adds a pathetic interest to the composition of this book. In Book II the speaker considers the subject of pain, this being another apparent obstacle in the way of happy living. Beginning with a somewhat abstract discussion of the nature of pain, the book soon takes a more practical turn. For, as Cicero says, whether pain is an evil or not, it is hard to bear; and he therefore proceeds in a direct and sensible way to set forth the means by which we may rise above it. The spirit of this discussion is in general thoroughly practical and Roman, standing thus in marked contrast with some of the other lectures included in this work. For example, in Books III and IV (not included in this edition) the speaker deals with the question of various mental disturbances and their remedy, discoursing for the most part from the ideal standpoint of the Stoics, which took but little account of the actual conditions existing among men in the ordinary walks of life. Book V closes the work with an eloquent plea in favor of the view that virtue is the one thing essential to happy living.

23. Cicero's interest in philosophy was centred mostly upon the subject of ethics (*cf.* § 6), and he flatters himself that he and Cato the Younger were making of philosophy a matter of everyday living. It may very readily be admitted that his efforts and those of Cato were helping to bring into clearer light the cultural and even the more practical value of the science; but at the same time it cannot be denied that with few of the ancients did philosophical study result in convictions of duty for which they

like Socrates, were willing to lay down life itself if need be.[1] It is therefore scarcely a matter of surprise that a glimpse behind the scenes in the case of Cicero and his cultured circle of friends often fails to bring to light convincing evidence of a profound effect on life and conduct resulting from the study of philosophy. Most striking is the case of Brutus, to whom the *Tusculan Disputations* are dedicated. This model Roman was loud in his protestations that virtue is the essential basis of happy living, and he even wrote a book in support of that thesis. But the effect is sadly spoiled by the discovery that in business he was heartless and mercenary, putting the collection of his iniquitous accounts into the hands of villains who were prepared to commit murder if their demands were resisted. In regard to Cicero himself it is an easy matter to point out instances where theory and practice stand in glaring contrast. He tells us, for example, that exile is a small matter, too insignificant to ruffle the calm of a happy life; yet when the ordeal had fallen to his lot, his spirit had been utterly crushed by it. Again, theoretically it is a splendid thing to care nothing for popular plaudits, and Demosthenes is altogether to be despised for showing such weakness; but who was more eager for praise than Cicero himself? Still again, though in theory grief for the death of friends is a mere convention, that is, we grieve simply because we think we ought to do so, the theory seems to have lightened little the blow of Tullia's death; indeed he confesses that under that visitation he looked on all sides for every possible shred of consolation, being unable in practice to measure up to the exalted standard set by Stoic theory. To extend such a comparison as this would be an ungracious task, and as a matter of fact before casting *more* stones it might be well to consider how many

[1] *Cf. what* Cicero himself says on this point, p. 58. 19 ff.

modern students are improved in morals by a course in ethics. Cicero's character in some respects is very attractive, and the final chapter of his life, namely the heroic stand against Antony which resulted in his own death, may well cause us to forget the earlier weakness and inconsistency which every historian makes it his business to point out.

24. In passing judgment on Cicero's philosophical works it is only fair to remember that the study of philosophy was distinctly a side issue with him. The main business of his life lay in a very different direction, and excursions into the field of philosophy were reserved for times of leisure. In projecting a philosophical series he did not plan to make any large original contribution to this branch of knowledge; his idea was rather to compile and arrange, and thus to bring the best results of Greek thought within the easy reach of Roman readers. This in itself was no inconsiderable task, especially as it involved the development of a Latin philosophical terminology. It is true that the work was done rapidly and in a somewhat offhand fashion, and that blemishes and inconsistencies therein are numerous; but it would be going quite too far to claim that all of these are due to Cicero's own haste or carelessness. The very extensive loss of the originals from which he drew (*cf.* § 16) makes it impossible in many cases to say with certainty how exactly he reported them; but it would appear from what is otherwise known of their content that the ambiguities and inconsistencies found in his works are often the result of a too faithful transcription.

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[1] Valuable in this connection because the introduction and notes touch on questions raised by the *Tusculan Disputations.*

SYNOPSIS

BOOK I

I. Introduction.

1. My enforced leisure has given me opportunity to turn again to the important subject of philosophy, a field in which I hope to better what the Greeks have done; for in subjects to which they gave earnest attention men of our nation have always surpassed the Greeks, their slow progress along some lines being due to lack of interest (1–5).[1]
2. This useful task of Romanizing philosophy has been rendered more difficult by reason of the ill-advised and unskilful attempts of other writers (5–6).
3. In the matter of method my models are here Aristotle and Socrates (7–8).

II. Consideration of the thesis: Death is an evil.

1. Even conceding that it means annihilation, death is an evil neither for the dead nor for the living; for
   a. Souls annihilated could have no feeling (9–15), and
   b. For the living, death would be the gate to a realm where suffering is inconceivable (16).
2. Rather is it a blessing, whatever view may be held as to the nature of death and the soul (16–23); for annihilation would preclude the possibility of suffering, and the doctrine of immortality opens up the prospect of a happy future (24–25).
3. In favor of the doctrine of immortality the following arguments may be offered:
   a. The conviction of the ancients, which is evidenced by their carefulness in the matter of funeral rites and their deification of heroes (26–29).

[1] *Numbers in parentheses* refer to the sections of the Latin text.

b. The conviction of men universally, as shown by their anxiety concerning the welfare of the dead and their interest in events subsequent to their own death (30–35).

c. The qualities of the soul itself, as shown by philosophical investigation, a field where ignorance once reigned and progress was slow (36–39):

α. Its lightness, a quality which makes the heavens its natural home (40–42).

β. Its swiftness (43).

Digression. In its natural abode in the heavens the soul will experience delights which it could not know when pent in the body (44–47), a doctrine more attractive and convincing than the poor consolation of the Epicureans (48–49); and none need reject this doctrine because it is hard to conceive of a disembodied spirit, for as a matter of fact the free and untrammeled soul is easier to picture than the soul shut up in the body (50–52).

γ. Its unending motion (53–55).

δ. Its various powers: memory of past existence (56–58); memory in the ordinary sense of that term (59–61); the power of research (62–63); the power of expression, etc. (64). These powers mark the soul as akin to God Himself (65–67); for just as we assume the existence of God from the works of nature, just so on the basis of its functions must we assume that the soul is immortal (68–70).

ε. Its simple and indivisible nature (71).

d. The belief of the very best men in a happy life beyond the grave (71–76).

4. As to the doctrine of annihilation:

a. Its advocates make a poor showing:

α. Some Stoics grant the hard thing, namely, that the soul outlives the body; and yet they deny what then is a simple matter, namely, its immortality (77–78).

β. Panaetius offers two arguments in favor of the doctrine *of annihilation*, claiming: 1) that the resemblance of *child to parent* shows that the soul has a beginning

and therefore an end; 2) that the mortal nature of the soul is shown by the fact that it is not immune from suffering (79); but

1. Our argument concerns the *mens*, which Plato held to be beyond the reach of pain (80), and
2. Inherited resemblance is more a matter of body than of soul. It is true that the body may react on the soul and produce likeness there also; but in many cases even this does not take place (80–81).

b. Even granting the fact of annihilation, death is no evil (82); for

a. In that case soul and body are placed beyond the reach of pain (82).

β. Death takes us away, not from blessings, but from woes actual or potential (83–86).

γ. Even granting that 'the blessings of life' are properly so called, in a state of annihilation there could be no feeling of regret for their loss (87–88); hence there is no reason to dread the thought of extinction (89).

δ. The loss of sensibility itself could not trouble a soul annihilated (90); and that there is annihilation and consequent complete loss of sensibility is not disproved by our interest in the events of coming ages (90–91), while the analogy of sleep tends to support that view (92).

5. We may therefore meet death with a brave and even cheerful spirit; for

a. There is no such thing as untimely death. Those who deny this truth are quite illogical:

α. They think the death of an infant slight cause for mourning, though as a matter of fact such death is most 'untimely' of all (93).

β. The death of a lad they think a more grievous matter; yet his death is really more 'timely,' for he has enjoyed some of the blessings of life (93).

γ. They hold that those are fortunate who live to old age; *yet even death* at an advanced age is 'untimely'; *for it is then that* added years would be most appre-

ciated and enjoyed. And no human life deserves the designation 'long' (94).

Such foolish talk should be put aside (95).

b. Consider the inspiring example which the ancients have set for us: Theramenes (96); Socrates (97–100); The Spartans and Theodorus (100–102).

c. An experience common to all mankind cannot be an evil (100).

d. Burial concerns the body only (102–104). There are popular misconceptions on this point (105–107), and some curious customs touching the disposal of the dead body (108).

e. A well-spent life makes it easy to meet death; and the best time is when all is prosperous (109–111).

III. Epilogue (112).

a. The rhetoricians show that death is no evil on the basis of
  α. The judgments of the gods (113–115).
  β. The ills of this life and the blessedness of vicarious death (116).

b. Death is therefore either to be desired or not to be feared. If circumstances call for suicide, death is a happy release; and in any case we may rest assured that the Creator has not made us in order that we should find in death eternal wretchedness. On the contrary, death is a pleasant haven and refuge (117–119).

BOOK II

I. Introduction.

1. The study of philosophy leads the way to the happy life (1–2).
2. Yet in writing on philosophy I must expect adverse criticism, a thing which I welcome; for it is through free discussion that philosophy flourishes (3–4).
3. I am anxious, therefore, that others too shall take up this matter seriously. We of the Academy are willing to give *all views a hearing,* but mere prolixity is to be discouraged *(5–6).*

4. I believe, too, that the Epicureans are wrong in their neglect of literary form, an error into which the Peripatetics and we of the Academy are not so likely to fall (7–9).
5. At present in the division of my time I am following Philo's plan (9).

II. Preliminary discussion.

1. The full benefit of philosophical study is enjoyed only by a select few, many accomplished philosophers themselves falling short in this matter (10–12).
2. To secure satisfactory results, the seed of philosophy must fall into fertile soil (12–13).

III. Consideration of the thesis: Pain is the greatest evil.

1. The nature of pain.
   a. It is not the greatest evil; for wickedness is worse (14). Many philosophers have gone wrong at this point (15). But a sense of the fitness of things has caused most to see that there are worse evils than pain, and herein philosophy has maintained her influence; for the other view discourages virtuous living and precludes the happy life (15–16).
   b. It is hard to bear. Pain we are sure to suffer, and it is foolish to deny its sting (17–18). [Note the instances of keen distress described by the poets (19–25); in fact, they so overdo the matter as to leave the impression that pain is the greatest evil, as Epicurus teaches (26–28).] The real question is how to endure pain manfully (28).
2. On the bearing of pain.
   a. The sophistries of the Stoics throw little light on the problem (29–30).
   b. The more reasonable Peripatetic view ascribes to virtue preëminence sufficient to inspire us to self-control (30–31).
   c. We must thus rise above pain, or we lose our claim to any and all of the virtues (31–33).
   d. The ability to bear pain manfully is won in two ways:
      a. *By practice in* enduring hardship, as seen, for example, *among the* Spartans and in army life (33–41).

β. By meditation on the teachings of philosophy (42–43), which demonstrate that

1. Praiseworthy action is preëminently the greatest good (44–46).
2. The higher nature must control the lower, holding it in check (47–51). To this end one should consider inspiring examples, which show that pain is worse in the seeming than in reality (52–53).

e. The fortitude resulting from this line of thought actually blunts the sting of pain; for, just as in battle, it is the stout-hearted who fare best (53–54). And we must guard especially against any undignified expression of distress; for this is disgraceful and useless (55–58).

f. What is praiseworthy appeals alike to warrior, scholar, and athlete (58–62). There is, however, this difficulty, that all do not realize that it is moral fortitude that is the most praiseworthy thing (63–64).

g. Fortitude must be well rounded, unshaken by any circumstance. This condition is realized only when the quality rests on a philosophical basis (65–66).

IV. Conclusion (66–67).

1. The method of dealing with pain may be applied also to the assaults of fortune.
2. Suicide offers a way of escape if life becomes unbearable.

BOOK V

I. Introduction.

1. That virtue is a sufficient basis for the happy life is a doctrine hard to prove. But the effort is well worth while; for the evolution and maintenance of this one principle is a sufficient justification for the existence of the science of philosophy (1–2).
2. Harsh experiences lead us at times to doubt the soundness of *the doctrine; but* this is simply because we take counsel with *our own weakness* and fears (2–4).

3. The cure for this and other faults is offered by philosophy, a noble discipline, undervalued because it is not generally recognized that the men great among the ancients were philosophers (5–6). They were so in fact, though the name does not appear until the time of Pythagoras (7–10).
4. Socrates introduced a new period in philosophy by giving proper emphasis to the subject of ethics (10). In my method of discussion I follow him (11).

II. Consideration of the thesis: Virtue is not a sufficient basis for the happy life.

1. Preliminary discussion.
   a. Though the virtuous may fall into trouble (12–14), virtue is still a sufficient basis for the happy life; for, as shown in preceding books, the *virtus* of the *sapiens* enables him to live in a serene calm, uninfluenced by these distresses (15–17). This concise proof is, however, too meager for a philosophical discussion (18–20).
   b. We cannot admit, with the Old Academy and the Peripatetics, that in addition to virtue there are also other kinds of good and corresponding evils. Such admission would be fatal to the doctrine that *virtus* is a sufficient basis for the happy life (21–23). This fact was recognized by Theophrastus (24–25), whose consistency is more to be admired than the illogically drawn conclusion of an Epicurus (26–28); for
   c. In dealing with the different schools of philosophy, we must consider, not so much the conclusions reached, but rather whether these conclusions are valid inferences from the premises assumed by each school. The conclusion that virtue is a sufficient basis for the happy life is consistent only with the assumption that there is no other good than *virtus* (28–31).

   Digression. The charge that what I now say of the Peripatetic system is inconsistent with what I have said elsewhere does not trouble me; for an adherent of the New Academy *may change* his ground as often as he feels *so moved.* Moreover, I am not now discussing the

validity of the fundamental principle of the Stoic system, but merely showing that this principle is quite in harmony with the thesis I should like to see established (32–34).

d. If any will not take it on Zeno's authority that virtue is the sole good, I refer all such to Socrates and Plato as sponsors for that view (34–36).

2. Exposition.

A. Stoic argument:

a. By aiming at perfection in all her works, nature makes clear the law that the perfect is the happy. Man's perfection is realized in a fully developed mentality, and since *perfecta mens* is only another name for *virtus*, it therefore follows that the possessors of *virtus* are happy (37–39).

Digression. Such happiness is complete, because it is based on good which cannot be lost. A Peripatetic (who thinks there is good and evil beyond his control) cannot attain to this happy life. For he must always dread the loss of things which he deems good, and thus cannot possess *fortitudo*, a quality which, along with *temperantia*, assures the happy and undisturbed calm which the *sapiens* enjoys, and to which *virtus* is the sole prerequisite (39–43).

b. Dialectic shows that

α. Virtue is the only good and therefore a sufficient basis for the happy life (43–44).

Digression. Bona corporis and *bona fortunae* are misnomers; for

1. The possessors of the things so designated may be most wretched. And a life that depends upon them even partly for its happiness is not really happy; for any admixture of such '*bona*' invalidates the claim of a life to the name 'virtuous,' apart from which quality happiness is unthinkable, virtue being in fact the only real good (44–45).

2. These designations cover the most commonplace things, utterly unworthy the name 'good' (46).

3. Stoic terminology should not mislead on this point (47).

aa. The attitude of the soul determines the color of the life. Accordingly, the virtuous attitude of the good means a virtuous and therefore a happy life (47), as already shown (48).

ββ. The happy life (and only the happy life) is praiseworthy, and therefore based on virtue (48–50).

Digression. The Peripatetic view is illogical and hurtful; for

1. From it one could prove that there is something better than the happy life (50).
2. They admit that moral evil makes a life unhappy, but deny that the converse is true of virtue (50).
3. By straining a point they could reach the plane of the Stoic view. Failure to do this makes virtue an impossibility (51–52).

β. To live well (which is made possible by virtue) means to live happily (53–54).

c. Contrast the lives of the wicked and the virtuous: Cinna and Laelius (54–55); Marius and Catulus (56); Dionysius and Archimedes (57–67).

d. Consider the joys that have their root in *virtus* (67–68), namely, the delights which the *sapiens* finds in physical science (69), moral philosophy (70–71), and logic (72), as well as in service to the state and in friendship (72), — joys in which he finds the happy life (72).

Transition. This happiness no outward circumstance can shake [even Epicurus, illogical though he is, rises to this point of view (73–75), and the Old Academy and the Peripatetics should come out squarely and say the same, giving up the quibble that may lurk in the *phrase vita beata;* for even pain amounts to little *(75–79)]; for*

1. Virtue and the happy life are inseparable (80–81).
2. The *sapiens* lives a life of self-dependence (81).
3. He attains the supreme good, *i.e.* a life in accord with nature (82).

B. Virtue is a sufficient basis for happy living, even though the Stoics be wrong in insisting that virtue is the only good (82–84); for

a. Of the various schools (84–85) many philosophers agree with the Old Academy and the Peripatetics in so exalting virtue that they are fully justified in holding that it is a sufficient basis for a happy, if not a perfectly happy, life (85–87).

b. The case of other philosophers is more difficult. Yet as a matter of fact they reach the same plane of thought as the Peripatetics; for while in theory they do not exalt virtue in the same degree, still in practice they are as little concerned by the so-called *bona et mala corporis et fortunae.* Take Epicurus as a typical case (87–88):

α. He cared not for pain and death (88–89).

β. Wealth had little attraction for him, and naturally; for his system discounts the grosser pleasures which money may buy, laying stress on those which arise through self-control (89–102).

γ. He taught contempt for unpopularity (103–105) and exile (106–109); and that

δ. Pleasure of the mind assures happiness for even the blind (110–115) and the deaf (116); and that

ε. Under certain circumstances suicide is justifiable, death itself being a matter of small moment (117–118).

C. Of all philosophers, those whose systems originated with Socrates and Plato ought to uphold most earnestly the doctrine that virtue is a sufficient basis for happy living (119–120).

III. *Conclusion* (121).

M. TULLI CICERONIS

TUSCULANARUM DISPUTATIONUM

LIBER PRIMUS

[De Contemnenda Morte.]

1. 1. Cum defensionum laboribus senatoriisque muneribus aut omnino aut magna ex parte essem aliquando liberatus, rettuli me, Brute, te hortante maxime, ad ea studia quae, retenta animo, remissa temporibus, longo intervallo intermissa revocavi, et cum omnium artium, quae ad rectam vivendi viam pertinerent, ratio et disciplina studiō sapientiae, quae philosophia dicitur, contineretur, hoc mihi Latinis litteris inlustrandum putavi,— non quia philosophia Graecis et litteris et doctoribus percipi non posset, sed meum semper iudicium fuit omnia nostros aut invenisse per se sapientius quam Graecos aut accepta ab illis fecisse meliora, quae quidem digna statuissent, in quibus elaborarent. 2. Nam mores et instituta vitae resque domesticas ac familiaris nos profecto et melius tuemur et lautius, rem vero publicam nostri maiores certe melioribus temperaverunt et institutis et legibus. *Quid loquar de re* militari? in qua cum virtute *nostri multum valuerunt,* tum plus etiam disciplina. Iam

illa, quae natura, non litteris adsecuti sunt, neque cum Graecia neque ulla cum gente sunt conferenda. Quae enim tanta gravitas, quae tanta constantia, magnitudo animi, probitas, fides, quae tam excellens in omni genere virtus in ullis fuit, ut sit cum maioribus nostris comparanda? 3. Doctrina Graecia nos et omni litterarum genere superabat; in quo erat facile vincere non repugnantes. Nam cum apud Graecos antiquissimum e doctis genus sit poëtarum, siquidem Homerus fuit et Hesiodus ante Romam conditam, Archilochus regnante Romulo, serius poëticam nos accepimus. Annis fere DX post Romam conditam Livius fabulam dedit C. Claudio, Caeci filio, M. Tuditano consulibus anno ante natum Ennium [qui fuit maior natu quam Plautus et Naevius]. 2. Sero igitur a nostris poëtae vel cogniti vel recepti; quamquam est in Originibus solitos esse in epulis canere convivas ad tibicinem de clarorum hominum virtutibus. Honorem tamen huic generi non fuisse declarat oratio Catonis, in qua obiecit ut probrum M. Nobiliori, quod is in provinciam poëtas duxisset; duxerat autem consul ille in Aetoliam, ut scimus, Ennium. Quo minus igitur honoris erat poëtis, eo minora studia fuerunt; nec tamen, si qui magnis ingeniis in eo genere extiterunt, non satis Graecorum gloriae responderunt. 4. An censemus, si Fabio, nobilissimo homini, laudi datum esset, quod pingeret, non multos etiam apud nos futuros Polyclitos et Parrhasios fuisse? Honos alit artes, omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloria, iacentque ea semper, quae apud quosque improbantur. Summam eruditionem Graeci sitam censebant in nervorum vocumque cantibus; igitur et Epaminondas, princeps meo iudicio Graeciae, fidibus praeclare cecinisse dicitur, Themistoclesque aliquot ante annos cum

in epulis recusaret lyram, est habitus indoctior. Ergo in Graecia musici floruerunt, discebantque id omnes, nec, qui nesciebat, satis excultus doctrina putabatur. 5. In summo apud illos honore geometria fuit, itaque nihil mathematicis inlustrius; at nos metiendi ratiocinandique utilitate huius artis terminavimus modum.

3. At contra oratorem celeriter complexi sumus, nec eum primo eruditum, aptum tamen ad dicendum, post autem eruditum. Nam Galbam, Africanum, Laelium doctos fuisse traditum est, studiosum autem eum, qui his aetate anteibat, Catonem, post vero Lepidum, Carbonem, Gracchos, inde ita magnos nostram ad aetatem, ut non multum aut nihil omnino Graecis cederetur. Philosophia iacuit usque ad hanc aetatem nec ullum habuit lumen litterarum Latinarum; quae inlustranda et excitanda nobis est, ut, si occupati profuimus aliquid civibus nostris, prosimus etiam, si possumus, otiosi. 6. In quo eo magis nobis est elaborandum, quod multi iam esse libri Latini dicuntur scripti inconsiderate ab optimis illis quidem viris, sed non satis eruditis. Fieri autem potest, ut recte quis sentiat et id, quod sentit, polite eloqui non possit; sed mandare quemquam litteris cogitationes suas, qui eas nec disponere nec inlustrare possit nec delectatione aliqua allicere lectorem, hominis est intemperanter abutentis et otio et litteris. Itaque suos libros ipsi legunt cum suis, nec quisquam attingit praeter eos, qui eandem licentiam scribendi sibi permitti volunt. Quare si aliquid oratoriae laudis nostra attulimus industria, multo studiosius philosophiae fontis aperiemus, e quibus etiam illa manabant.

4. 7. Sed ut Aristoteles, vir summo ingenio, scientia, copia, *cum motus esset* Isocratis rhetoris gloria, dicere

docere etiam coepit adulescentes et prudentiam cum eloquentia iungere, sic nobis placet nec pristinum dicendi studium deponere et in hac maiore et uberiore arte versari. Hanc enim perfectam philosophiam semper iudicavi, quae de maximis quaestionibus copiose posset ornateque dicere; in quam exercitationem ita nos studiose dedimus, ut iam etiam scholas Graecorum more habere auderemus; ut nuper tuum post discessum in Tusculano cum essent complures mecum familiares, temptavi, quid in eo genere possem. Ut enim antea declamitabam causas, quod nemo me diutius fecit, sic haec mihi nunc senilis est declamatio. Ponere iubebam, de quo quis audire vellet; ad id aut sedens aut ambulans disputabam.

8. Itaque dierum quinque scholas, ut Graeci appellant, in totidem libros contuli. Fiebat autem ita, ut, cum is, qui audire vellet, dixisset, quid sibi videretur, tum ego contra dicerem. Haec est enim, ut scis, vetus et Socratica ratio contra alterius opinionem disserendi. Nam ita facillime, quid veri simillimum esset, inveniri posse Socrates arbitrabatur. Sed quo commodius disputationes nostrae explicentur, sic eas exponam, quasi agatur res, non quasi narretur. Ergo ita nascetur exordium:

5. 9. *A.* Malum mihi videtur esse mors.

M. Iisne, qui mortui sunt, an iis, quibus moriendum est?

A. Utrisque.

M. Est miserum igitur, quoniam malum.

A. Certe.

M. Ergo et ii, quibus evenit iam, ut morerentur, et ii, quibus eventurum est, miseri.

A. Mihi ita videtur.

M. *Nemo ergo* non miser.

A. Prorsus nemo.

M. Et quidem, si tibi constare vis, omnes, quicumque nati sunt eruntve, non solum miseri, sed etiam semper miseri. Nam si solos eos diceres miseros, quibus moriendum esset, neminem tu quidem eorum, qui viverent, exciperes (moriendum est enim omnibus), esset tamen miseriae finis in morte. Quoniam autem etiam mortui miseri sunt, in miseriam nascimur sempiternam. Necesse est enim miseros esse eos, qui centum milibus annorum ante occiderunt, vel potius omnis, quicumque nati sunt.

10. *A.* Ita prorsus existimo.

M. Dic, quaeso: num te illa terrent, triceps apud inferos Cerberus, Cocyti fremitus, travectio Acherontis,

Mentó summam aquam attíngens enectús siti (T.)

Tantulus? tum illud quod

Sisyphus versat
Saxum sudans nitendo neque proficit hilum?

fortasse etiam inexorabiles iudices, Minos et Rhadamanthus? apud quos nec te L. Crassus defendet nec M. Antonius nec, quoniam apud Graecos iudices res agetur, poteris adhibere Demosthenen; tibi ipsi pro te erit maxima corona causa dicenda. Haec fortasse metuis et idcirco mortem censes esse sempiternum malum.

6. *A.* Adeone me delirare censes, ut ista esse credam?

M. An tu haec non credis?

A. Minime vero.

M. Male hercule narras.

A. Cur? *quaeso.*

M. *Quia disertus* esse possem, si contra ista dicerem.

11. *A.* Quis enim non in eius modi causa? aut quid negotii est haec poëtarum et pictorum portenta convincere?

M. Atqui pleni libri sunt contra ista ipsa disserentium philosophorum.

A. Inepte sane. Quis enim est tam excors, quem ista moveant?

M. Si ergo apud inferos miseri non sunt, ne sunt quidem apud inferos ulli.

A. Ita prorsus existimo.

M. Ubi sunt ergo ii, quos miseros dicis, aut quem locum incolunt? Si enim sunt, nusquam esse non possunt.

A. Ego vero nusquam esse illos puto.

M. Igitur ne esse quidem?

A. Prorsus isto modo, et tamen miseros ob id ipsum quidem, quia nulli sint.

12. *M.* Iam mallem Cerberum metueres quam ista tam inconsiderate diceres.

A. Quid tandem?

M. Quem esse negas, eundem esse dicis. Ubi est acumen tuum? Cum enim miserum esse dicis, tum eum, qui non sit, dicis esse.

A. Non sum ita hebes, ut istud dicam.

M. Quid dicis igitur?

A. Miserum esse, verbi causa M. Crassum, qui illas fortunas morte dimiserit, miserum Cn. Pompeium, qui tanta gloria sit orbatus, omnis denique miseros, qui hac luce careant.

M. Revolveris eodem. Sint enim oportet, si miseri sunt; tu autem modo negabas eos esse, qui mortui essent. *Si igitur non sunt,* nihil possunt esse; ita ne miseri *quidem sunt.*

A. Non dico fortasse etiam, quod sentio; nam istuc ipsum, non esse, cum fueris, miserrimum puto.

13. *M.* Quid? miserius quam omnino numquam fuisse? Ita, qui nondum nati sunt, miseri iam sunt, quia non sunt, et nos, si post mortem miseri futuri sumus, miseri fuimus ante quam nati. Ego autem non commemini, ante quam sum natus, me miserum; tu si meliore memoria es, velim scire, ecquid de te recordere.

7. *A.* Ita iocaris, quasi ego dicam eos miseros, qui nati non sint, et non eos miseros, qui mortui sunt.

M. Esse ergo eos dicis.

A. Immo, quia non sint, cum fuerint, eo miseros esse.

M. Pugnantia te loqui non vides? Quid enim tam pugnat, quam non modo miserum, sed omnino quicquam esse, qui non sit? Au tu egressus porta Capena cum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum sepulcra vides, miseros putas illos?

A. Quoniam me verbo premis, posthac non ita dicam, miseros esse, sed tantum miseros, ob id ipsum, quia non sint.

M. Non dicis igitur: 'Miser est M. Crassus,' sed tantum: 'Miser M. Crassus'?

A. Ita plane.

14. *M.* Quasi non necesse sit, quicquid isto modo pronunties, id aut esse aut non esse! An tu dialecticis ne imbutus quidem es? In primis enim hoc traditur: omne pronuntiatum (sic enim mihi in praesentia occurrit ut appellarem ἀξίωμα; utar post alio, si invenero melius) — id ergo est pronuntiatum, quod est verum aut falsum. Cum igitur dicis: 'Miser M. Crassus,' aut hoc dicis: 'Miser est Crassus,' *ut possit* iudicari, verum id falsumne sit, aut *nihil dicis omnino.*

A. Age, iam concedo non esse miseros, qui mortui sint, quoniam extorsisti, ut faterer, qui omnino non essent, eos ne miseros quidem esse posse. Quid? qui vivimus, cum moriendum sit, nonne miseri sumus? Quae enim potest in vita esse iucunditas, cum dies et noctes cogitandum sit iam iamque esse moriendum?

8. 15. *M.* Ecquid ergo intellegis, quantum mali de humana condicione deieceris?

A. Quonam modo?

M. Quia, si mori etiam mortuis miserum esset, infinitum quoddam et sempiternum malum haberemus in vita; nunc video calcem, ad quam cum sit decursum, nihil sit praeterea extimescendum. Sed tu mihi videris Epicharmi, acuti nec insulsi hominis, ut Siculi, sententiam sequi.

A. Quam? non enim novi.

M. Dicam, si potero, Latine. Scis enim me Graece loqui in Latino sermone non plus solere quam in Graeco Latine.

A. Et recte quidem. Sed quae tandem est Epicharmi ista sententia?

M. *Émori nolo, sed me esse mórtuum nihili aéstimo.*

A. Iam adgnosco Graecum. Sed quoniam coëgisti, ut concederem, qui mortui essent, eos miseros non esse, perfice, si potes, ut ne moriendum quidem esse miserum putem.

16. *M.* Iam istuc quidem nihil negotii est, sed maiora molior.

A. Quo modo hoc nihil negotii est? aut quae sunt tandem ista maiora?

M. Quia, quoniam post mortem mali nihil est, ne mors *quidem est malum,* cui proxumum tempus est post mortem, *in quo mali* nihil esse concedis: ita ne moriendum

quidem esse malum est; id est enim perveniendum esse ad id, quod non esse malum confitemur.

A. Uberius ista, quaeso. Haec enim spinosiora, prius ut confitear, me cogunt, quam ut adsentiar. Sed quae sunt ea, quae dicis te maiora moliri?

M. Ut doceam, si possim, non modo malum non esse, sed bonum etiam esse mortem.

A. Non postulo id quidem, aveo tamen audire. Ut enim non efficias, quod vis, tamen, mors ut malum non sit, efficies. Sed nihil te interpellabo; continentem orationem audire malo.

17. *M.* Quid, si te rogavero aliquid? nonne respondebis?

A. Superbum id quidem est, sed, nisi quid necesse erit, malo non roges.

9. *M.* Geram tibi morem et ea, quae vis, ut potero, explicabo, nec tamen quasi Pythius Apollo, certa ut sint et fixa, quae dixero, sed ut homunculus, unus e multis, probabilia coniectura sequens; ultra enim quo progrediar, quam ut veri similia videam, non habeo. Certa dicent ii, qui et percipi ea posse dicunt et se sapientis esse profitentur.

A. Tu, ut videtur; nos ad audiendum parati sumus.

18. *M.* Mors igitur ipsa, quae videtur notissima res esse, quid sit, primum est videndum. Sunt enim qui discessum animi a corpore putent esse mortem; sunt qui nullum censeant fieri discessum, sed una animum et corpus occidere, animumque in corpore extingui. Qui discedere animum censent, alii statim dissipari, alii diu permanere, alii semper. Quid sit porro ipse animus aut ubi *aut unde, magna* dissensio est. Aliis cor ipsum *animus videtur, ex* quo excordes, vaecordes concordesque

dicuntur et Nasica ille prudens bis consul Corculum et

Egregie cordatus homo catus Aelius Sextus.

19. Empedocles animum esse censet cordi suffusum sanguinem; aliis pars quaedam cerebri visa est animi principatum tenere; aliis nec cor ipsum placet nec cerebri quandam partem esse animum, sed alii in corde, alii in cerebro dixerunt animi esse sedem et locum; animum autem alii animam, ut fere nostri; (declarant nomina; nam et 'agere animam' et 'efflare' dicimus, et 'animosos' et 'bene animatos' et 'ex animi sententia'; ipse autem animus ab anima dictus est); Zenoni Stoico animus ignis videtur. **10.** Sed haec quidem, quae dixi, cor, cerebrum, animam, ignem, vulgo; reliqua fere singuli, ut multi ante veteres, proxime autem Aristoxenus, musicus idemque philosophus, ipsius corporis intentionem quandam, velut in cantu et fidibus quae ἁρμονία dicitur; sic ex corporis totius natura et figura varios motus cieri tamquam in cantu sonos. **20.** Hic ab artificio suo non recessit et tamen dixit aliquid, quod ipsum quale esset, erat multo ante et dictum et explanatum a Platone. Xenocrates animi figuram et quasi corpus negavit esse, merum numerum dixit esse, cuius vis, ut iam ante Pythagorae visum erat, in natura maxuma esset. Eius doctor Plato triplicem finxit animum, cuius principatum, id est rationem, in capite sicut in arce posuit, et duas partes ei parere voluit, iram et cupiditatem, quas locis suis, iram in pectore, cupiditatem subter praecordia, locavit. *21. Dicaearchus* autem in eo sermone, quem Corinthi *habitum tribus libris* exponit doctorum hominum disputantium, *primo libro* multos loquentis facit; duobus

Pherecraten quendam Phthiotam senem, quem ait a Deucalione ortum, disserentem inducit nihil esse omnino animum, et hoc esse nomen totum inane, frustraque animalia et animantis appellari, neque in homine inesse animum vel animam nec in bestia, vimque omnem eam, qua vel agamus quid vel sentiamus, in omnibus corporibus vivis aequabiliter esse fusam nec separabilem a corpore esse, quippe quae nulla sit nec sit quicquam nisi corpus unum et simplex, ita figuratum, ut temperatione naturae vigeat et sentiat. 22. Aristoteles, longe omnibus (Platonem semper excipio) praestans et ingenio et diligentia, cum quattuor nota illa genera principiorum esset complexus, e quibus omnia orerentur, quintam quandam naturam censet esse, e qua sit mens. Cogitare enim et providere et discere et docere et invenire aliquid et tam multa alia — meminisse, amare odisse, cupere timere, angi laetari, — haec et similia eorum in horum quattuor generum inesse nullo putat; quintum genus adhibet vacans nomine, et sic ipsum animum ἐνδελέχειαν appellat novo nomine quasi quandam continuatam motionem et perennem. 11. Nisi quae me forte fugiunt, haec sunt fere de animo sententiae. Democritum enim, magnum illum quidem virum, sed levibus et rotundis corpusculis efficientem animum concursu quodam fortuito, omittamus; nihil est enim apud istos, quod non atomorum turba conficiat. 23. Harum sententiarum quae vera sit, deus aliqui viderit; quae veri simillima, magna quaestio est. Utrum igitur inter has sententias diiudicare malumus an ad propositum redire?

A. Cuperem *equidem* utrumque, si posset, sed est difficile *confundere*. Quare si, ut ista non disserantur, *liberari mortis metu* possumus, id agamus; sin id non

potest nisi hac quaestione animorum explicata, nunc, si videtur, hoc, illud alias.

M. Quod malle te intellego, id puto esse commodius. Efficiet enim ratio, ut, quaecumque vera sit earum sententiarum, quas exposui, mors aut malum non sit aut sit bonum potius. 24. Nam si cor aut sanguis aut cerebrum est animus, certe, quoniam est corpus, interibit cum reliquo corpore; si anima est, fortasse dissipabitur; si ignis, extinguetur; si est Aristoxeni harmonia, dissolvetur. Quid de Dicaearcho dicam, qui nihil omnino animum dicat esse? His sententiis omnibus nihil post mortem pertinere ad quemquam potest: pariter enim cum vita sensus amittitur; non sentientis autem nihil est ullam in partem quod intersit. Reliquorum sententiae spem adferunt, si te hoc forte delectat, posse animos, cum e corporibus excesserint, in caelum quasi in domicilium suum pervenire.

A. Me vero delectat, idque primum ita esse velim, deinde, etiamsi non sit, mihi persuaderi tamen velim.

M. Quid tibi ergo opera nostra opus est? num eloquentia Platonem superare possumus? Evolve diligenter eius eum librum, qui est de animo; amplius quod desideres nihil erit.

A. Feci mehercule, et quidem saepius; sed nescio quo modo, dum lego, adsentior, cum posui librum et mecum ipse de immortalitate animorum coepi cogitare, adsensio omnis illa elabitur.

25. *M.* Quid hoc? dasne aut manere animos post mortem aut morte ipsa interire?

A. Do vero.

M. Quid, si maneant?

A. Beatos esse concedo.

M. Sin intereant?

A. Non esse miseros, quoniam ne sint quidem; iam istuc coacti a te paulo ante concessimus.

M. Quo modo igitur aut cur mortem malum tibi videri dicis? quae aut beatos nos efficiet animis manentibus aut non miseros sensu carentis.

12. 26. *A.* Expone igitur, nisi molestum est, primum, si potes, animos remanere post mortem, tum, si minus id obtinebis (est enim arduum), docebis carere omni malo mortem. Ego enim istuc ipsum vereor ne malum sit, non dico carere sensu, sed carendum esse.

M. Auctoribus quidem ad istam sententiam, quam vis obtineri, uti optimis possumus, quod in omnibus causis et debet et solet valere plurimum, et primum quidem omni antiquitate, quae quo propius aberat ab ortu et divina progenie, hoc melius ea fortasse, quae erant vera, cernebat. 27. Itaque unum illud erat insitum priscis illis, quos 'cascos' appellat Ennius, esse in morte sensum, neque excessu vitae sic deleri hominem, ut funditus interiret; idque cum multis aliis rebus, tum e pontificio iure et e caerimoniis sepulcrorum intellegi licet, quas maxumis ingeniis praediti nec tanta cura coluissent nec violatas tam inexpiabili religione sanxissent, nisi haereret in eorum mentibus mortem non interitum esse omnia tollentem atque delentem, sed quandam quasi migrationem commutationemque vitae, quae in claris viris et feminis dux in caelum soleret esse, in ceteris humi retineretur et permaneret tamen. 28. Ex hoc et nostrorum opinione 'Romulus in caelo cum dis agit aevum' ut famae adsentiens dixit Ennius, et apud Graecos indeque perlapsus ad nos et usque ad Oceanum Hercules tantus et tam praesens habetur deus; hinc Liber Semela natus, eademque *famae* celebritate Tyndaridae fratres, qui *non modo adiutores in* proeliis victoriae populi Romani,

sed etiam nuntii fuisse perhibentur. Quid? Ino Cadmi filia nonne Λευκοθέα nominata a Graecis Matuta habetur a nostris? quid? totum prope caelum, ne pluris persequar, nonne humano genere completum est? **13. 29.** Si vero scrutari vetera et ex iis ea, quae scriptores Graeciae prodiderunt, eruere coner, ipsi illi maiorum gentium di qui habentur, hinc a nobis profecti in caelum reperientur. Quaere, quorum demonstrantur sepulcra in Graecia, reminiscere, quoniam es initiatus, quae tradantur mysteriis; tum denique, quam hoc late pateat, intelleges. Sed qui nondum, ea quae multis post annis tractari coepta sunt, physica didicissent, tantum sibi persuaserant, quantum natura admonente cognoverant, rationes et causas rerum non tenebant. Visis quibusdam saepe movebantur, iisque maxime nocturnis, ut viderentur ei, qui vita excesserant, vivere.

30. Ut porro firmissimum hoc adferri videtur, cur deos esse credamus, quod nulla gens tam fera, nemo omnium tam sit inmanis, cuius mentem non imbuerit deorum opinio (multi de dis prava sentiunt; id enim vitioso more effici solet; omnes tamen esse vim et naturam divinam arbitrantur, nec vero id conlocutio hominum aut consessus efficit, non institutis opinio est confirmata, non legibus; omni autem in re consensio omnium gentium lex naturae putanda est) — quis est igitur, qui suorum mortem primum non eo lugeat, quod eos orbatos vitae commodis arbitretur? Tolle hanc opinionem, luctum sustuleris. Nemo enim maeret suo incommodo; dolent fortasse et anguntur; sed illa lugubris lamentatio fletusque maerens ex eo est, quod eum, quem dileximus, vitae commodis privatum arbitramur idque sentire. Atque haec ita sentimus *natura duce, nulla ratione* nullaque doctrina. **14. 31.** *Maximum vero argumentum* est naturam ipsam de immor-

talitate animorum tacitam iudicare, quod omnibus curae sunt, et maxumae quidem, quae post mortem futura sint. 'Serit arbores, quae alteri saeclo prosint,' ut ait ille in Synephebis, quid spectans nisi etiam postera saecula ad se pertinere? Ergo arbores seret diligens agricola, quarum aspiciet bacam ipse numquam; vir magnus leges, instituta, rem publicam non seret? Quid procreatio liberorum, quid propagatio nominis, quid adoptationes filiorum, quid testamentorum diligentia, quid ipsa sepulcrorum monumenta, elogia significant nisi nos futura etiam cogitare? **32.** Quid? illud num dubitas, quin specimen naturae capi deceat ex optima quaque natura? Quae est melior igitur in hominum genere natura quam eorum, qui se natos ad homines iuvandos, tutandos, conservandos arbitrantur? Abiit ad deos Hercules; numquam abisset, nisi, cum inter homines esset, eam sibi viam munivisset. **15.** Vetera iam ista et religione omnium consecrata. Quid in hac re publica tot tantosque viros ob rem publicam interfectos cogitasse arbitramur? isdemne ut finibus nomen suum, quibus vita, terminaretur? Nemo umquam sine magna spe inmortalitatis se pro patria offerret ad mortem. **33.** Licuit esse otioso Themistocli, licuit Epaminondae, licuit, ne et vetera et externa quaeram, mihi; sed nescio quo modo inhaeret in mentibus quasi saeclorum quoddam augurium futurorum, idque in maximis ingeniis altissimisque animis et exsistit maxime et apparet facillime. Quo quidem dempto, quis tam esset amens, qui semper in laboribus et periculis viveret? **34.** Loquor de principibus; quid? poëtae nonne post mortem nobilitari volunt? Unde ergo illud?

Aspicite, o cives, senis Enni imaginis formam.
Hic vestrum panxit maxima facta patrum.

Mercedem gloriae flagitat ab iis, quorum patres adfecerat gloria, idemque:

Nemo me lacrimis . . . .
Cur? volito vivos per ora virum.

Sed quid poëtas? opifices post mortem nobilitari volunt. Quid enim Phidias sui similem speciem inclusit in clupeo Minervae, cum inscribere nomen non liceret? Quid? nostri philosophi nonne in iis libris ipsis, quos scribunt de condemnenda gloria, sua nomina inscribunt? **35.** Quodsi omnium consensus naturae vox est, omnesque, qui ubique sunt, consentiunt esse aliquid, quod ad eos pertineat, qui vita cesserint, nobis quoque idem existimandum est, et si, quorum aut ingenio aut virtute animus excellit, eos arbitramur, quia natura optima sint, cernere naturae vim maxume, veri simile est, cum optumus quisque maxume posteritati serviat, esse aliquid, cuius is post mortem sensum sit habiturus.

16. 36. Sed ut deos esse natura opinamur, quales[que] sint, ratione cognoscimus, sic permanere animos arbitramur consensu nationum omnium, qua in sede maneant qualesque sint, ratione discendum est. Cuius ignoratio finxit inferos easque formidines, quas tu contemnere non sine causa videbare. In terram enim cadentibus corporibus iisque humo tectis, e quo dictum est 'humari,' sub terra censebant reliquam vitam agi mortuorum. Quam eorum opinionem magni errores consecuti sunt, quos auxerunt poëtae. **37.** Frequens enim consessus theatri, in quo sunt mulierculae et pueri, movetur audiens tam grande carmen:

Ádsum atque advenio Ácherunte víx via alta atque árduay
Pér speluncas sáxis structas ásperis, pendéntibus,
Máxumis ubi rígida constat crássa caligo inferum,

tantumque valuit error, qui mihi quidem iam sublatus videtur, ut, corpora cremata cum scirent, tamen ea fieri apud inferos fingerent, quae sine corporibus nec fieri possent nec intellegi. Animos enim per se ipsos viventis non poterant mente complecti, formam aliquam figuramque quaerebant. Inde Homeri tota νέκυια, inde ea, quae meus amicus Appius νεκυομαντεῖα faciebat, inde in vicinia nostra Averni lacus,

Únde animae excitántur obscura úmbra opertae ex óstio
Áltae Acheruntis, sólso sanguine, mórtuorum imágines.

Has tamen imagines loqui volunt, quod fieri nec sine lingua nec sine palato nec sine faucium, laterum, pulmonum vi et figura potest. Nihil enim animo videre poterant, ad oculos omnia referebant. 38. Magni autem est ingenii sevocare mentem a sensibus et cogitationem abconsuetudine abducere. Itaque credo equidem etiam alios tot saeculis, sed, quod litteris exstet, Pherecydes Syrius primum dixit animos esse hominum sempiternos, antiquus sane; fuit enim meo regnante gentili. Hanc opinionem discipulus eius Pythagoras maxime confirmavit; qui cum Superbo regnante in Italiam venisset, tenuit Magnam illam Graeciam cum disciplina, tum etiam auctoritate, multaque saecula postea sic viguit Pythagoreorum nomen, ut nulli alii docti viderentur. 17. Sed redeo ad antiquos. Rationem illi sententiae suae non fere reddebant, nisi quid erat numeris aut descriptionibus explicandum. 39. Platonem ferunt, ut Pythagoreos cognosceret, in Italiam venisse et didicisse Pythagorea *omnia primumque* de animorum aeternitate *non solum sensisse idem*, quod Pythagoram, sed rationem

etiam attulisse. Quam, nisi quid dicis, praetermittamus et hanc totam spem inmortalitatis relinquamus.

A. An tu cum me in summam exspectationem adduxeris, deseris? Errare mehercule malo cum Platone, quem tu quanti facias scio, et quem ex tuo ore admiror, quam cum istis vera sentire.

40. *M.* Macte virtute! ego enim ipse cum eodem isto non invitus erraverim. Num igitur dubitamus — an sicut pleraque? quamquam hoc quidem minime; persuadent enim mathematici terram in medio mundo sitam ad universi caeli complexum, quasi puncti instar obtinere, quod κέντρον illi vocant; eam porro naturam esse quattuor omnia gignentium corporum, ut, quasi partita habeant inter se ac divisa momenta, terrena et umida suopte nutu et suo pondere ad paris angulos in terram et in mare ferantur, reliquae duae partes, una ignea, altera animalis, ut illae superiores in medium locum mundi gravitate ferantur et pondere, sic hae rursum rectis lineis in caelestem locum subvolent, sive ipsa natura superiora adpetente, sive quod a gravioribus leviora natura repellantur. Quae cum constent, perspicuum debet esse animos, cum e corpore excesserint, sive illi sint animales, id est spirabiles, sive ignei, sublime ferri. 41. Si vero aut numerus quidam sit animus, quod subtiliter magis quam dilucide dicitur, aut quinta illa non nominata magis quam non intellecta natura, multo etiam integriora ac puriora sunt, ut a terra longissime se ecferant. Horum igitur aliquid est animus, ne tam vegeta mens aut in corde cerebrove aut in Empedocleo sanguine demersa iacea[illegible] 18. Dicaearchum vero cum Aristoxeno, aequali et c[illegible] *discipulo suo,* doctos sane homines, omittamus; quor[illegible] *alter ne condoluisse* quidem umquam videtur,

animum se habere non sentiat, alter ita delectatur suis cantibus, ut eos etiam ad haec transferre conetur. Harmoniam autem ex intervallis sonorum nosse possumus, quorum varia compositio etiam harmonias efficit pluris; membrorum vero situs et figura corporis vacans animo quam possit harmoniam efficere, non video. Sed hic quidem, quamvis eruditus sit, sicut est, haec magistro concedat Aristoteli, canere ipse doceat. Bene enim illo Graecorum proverbio praecipitur:

Quam quisque norit artem, in hac se exérceat.

42. Illam vero funditus eiciamus individuorum corporum levium et rotundorum concursionem fortuitam, quam tamen Democritus concalefactam et spirabilem, id est animalem, esse volt. Is autem animus, qui (si est horum quattuor generum, ex quibus omnia constare dicuntur) ex inflammata anima constat, ut potissimum videri video Panaetio, superiora capessat necesse est. Nihil enim habent haec duo genera proni et supera semper petunt. Ita, sive dissipantur, procul a terris id evenit, sive permanent et conservant habitum suum, hoc etiam magis necesse est ferantur ad caelum et ab iis perrumpatur et dividatur crassus hic et concretus aër, qui est terrae proximus. Calidior est enim vel potius ardentior animus, quam est hic aër, quem modo dixi crassum atque concretum, quod ex eo sciri potest, quia corpora nostra terreno principiorum genere confecta ardore animi concalescunt.

43. Accedit, ut eo facilius animus evadat ex hoc aëre, quem saepe iam appello, eumque perrumpat, quod nihil est animo *velocius;* nulla est celeritas, quae possit cum *animi celeritate* contendere. Qui si permanet

incorruptus suique similis, necesse est ita feratur, ut penetret et dividat omne caelum hoc, in quo nubes, imbres, ventique coguntur, quod et umidum et caliginosum est propter exhalationes terrae. Quam regionem cum superavit animus naturamque sui similem contigit et adgnovit, iunctis ex anima tenui et ex ardore solis temperato ignibus insistit et finem altius se ecferendi facit. Cum enim sui similem et levitatem et calorem adeptus est, tamquam paribus examinatus ponderibus nullam in partem movetur, eaque ei demum naturalis est sedes, cum ad sui simile penetravit; in quo nulla re egens aletur et sustentabitur isdem rebus, quibus astra sustentantur et aluntur.

44. Cumque corporis facibus inflammari soleamus ad omnis fere cupiditates eoque magis incendi, quod iis aemulemur, qui ea habeant, quae nos habere cupiamus, profecto beati erimus, cum corporibus relictis et cupiditatum et aemulationum erimus expertes; quodque nunc facimus, cum laxati curis sumus, ut spectare aliquid velimus et visere, id multo tum faciemus liberius totosque nos in contemplandis rebus perspiciendisque ponemus, propterea quod et natura inest in mentibus nostris insatiabilis quaedam cupiditas veri videndi et orae ipsae locorum illorum, quo pervenerimus, quo faciliorem nobis cognitionem rerum caelestium, eo maiorem cognoscendi cupiditatem dabunt. **45.** Haec enim pulchritudo etiam in terris 'patritam' illam 'et avitam,' ut ait Theophrastus, philosophiam cognitionis cupiditate incensa excitavit. Praecipue vero fruentur ea, qui tum etiam, cum has terras incolentes circumfusi erant caligine, tamen acie *mentis dispicere* cupiebant. **20.** Etenim si nunc ali*quid adsequi se* putant, qui ostium Ponti viderunt et

eas angustias, per quas penetravit ea, quae est nominata

Argó, quia Argivi ín ea delectí viri
Vectí petebant péllem inauratam árietis,

aut ii, qui Oceani freta illa viderunt,

Europam Libyamque rapax ubi dividit unda,

quod tandem spectaculum fore putamus, cum totam terram contueri licebit eiusque cum situm, formam, circumscriptionem, tum et habitabiles regiones et rursum omni cultu propter vim frigoris aut caloris vacantis? **46.** Nos enim ne nunc quidem oculis cernimus ea, quae videmus; neque est enim ullus sensus in corpore, sed, ut non physici solum docent, verum etiam medici, qui ista aperta et patefacta viderunt, viae quasi quaedam sunt ad oculos, ad auris, ad naris a sede animi perforatae. Itaque saepe aut cogitatione aut aliqua vi morbi impediti apertis atque integris et oculis et auribus nec videmus nec audimus, ut facile intellegi possit animum et videre et audire, non eas partis, quae quasi fenestrae sint animi, quibus tamen sentire nihil queat mens, nisi id agat et adsit. Quid, quod eadem mente res dissimillimas comprendimus, ut colorem, saporem, calorem, odorem, sonum? quae numquam quinque nuntiis animus cognosceret, nisi ad eum omnia referrentur et is omnium iudex solus esset. Atque ea profecto tum multo puriora et dilucidiora cernentur, cum, quo natura fert, liber animus pervenerit. **47.** Nam nunc quidem, quamquam foramina illa, quae patent ad animum a corpore, callidissimo artificio natura fabricata est, tamen terrenis concretisque corporibus sunt intersaepta quodam *modo;* cum autem nihil erit praeter *animum, nulla res obiecta* impediet, quo minus percipiat,

quale quidque sit. **21.** Quamvis copiose haec diceremus, si res postularet, quam multa, quam varia, quanta spectacula animus in locis caelestibus esset habiturus.

48. Quae quidem cogitans soleo saepe mirari non nullorum insolentiam philosophorum, qui naturae cognitionem admirantur eiusque inventori et principi gratias exultantes agunt eumque venerantur ut deum; liberatos enim se per eum dicunt gravissimis dominis, terrore sempiterno et diurno ac nocturno metu. Quo terrore? quo metu? quae est anus tam delira, quae timeat ista, quae vos videlicet, si physica non didicissetis, timeretis, 'Acherunsia templa alta Orci, pallida leto, nubila tenebris loca'? Non pudet philosophum in eo gloriari, quod haec non timeat, et quod falsa esse cognoverit? E quo intellegi potest, quam acuti natura sint, quoniam haec sine doctrina crediturí fuerunt. **49.** Praeclarum autem nescio quid adepti sunt, quod didicerunt se, cum tempus mortis venisset, totos esse perituros! Quod ut ita sit (nihil enim pugno), quid habet ista res aut laetabile aut gloriosum? Nec tamen mihi sane quicquam occurrit, cur non Pythagorae sit et Platonis vera sententia. Ut enim rationem Plato nullam adferret (vide, quid homini tribuam), ipsa auctoritate me frangeret; tot autem rationes attulit, ut velle ceteris, sibi certe persuasisse videatur.

22. 50. Sed plurimi contra nituntur animosque quasi capite damnatos morte multant; neque aliud est quicquam, cur incredibilis iis animorum videatur aeternitas, nisi quod nequeunt, qualis animus sit vacans corpore, intellegere et cogitatione comprehendere. Quasi vero *intellegant, qualis sit* in ipso corpore, quae conformatio, *quae magnitudo,* qui locus, aut, (si iam possent in homine

vivo cerni omnia, quae nunc tecta sunt), casurusne in conspectum videatur animus, an tanta sit eius tenuitas, ut fugiat aciem! 51. Haec reputent isti, qui negant animum sine corpore se intellegere posse; videbunt, quem in ipso corpore intellegant. Mihi quidem naturam animi intuenti multo difficilior occurrit cogitatio, multo obscurior, qualis animus in corpore sit tamquam alienae domui, quam qualis, cum exierit et in liberum caelum quasi domum suam venerit. Nisi enim, quod numquam vidimus, id quale sit, intellegere non possumus, certe et deum ipsum et divinum animum corpore liberatum cogitatione complecti possumus. Dicaearchus quidem et Aristoxenus, quia difficilis erat animi, quid aut qualis esset, intellegentia, nullum omnino animum esse dixerunt. 52. Est illud quidem vel maxumum animo ipso animum videre, et nimirum hanc habet vim praeceptum Apollinis, quo monet, ut se quisque noscat. Non enim, credo, id praecipit, ut membra nostra aut staturam figuramve noscamus; neque nos corpora sumus, nec ego tibi haec dicens corpori tuo dico. Cum igitur 'Nosce te' dicit, hoc dicit: 'Nosce animum tuum.' Nam corpus quidem quasi vas est aut aliquod animi receptaculum; ab animo tuo quicquid agitur, id agitur a te. Hunc igitur nosse nisi divinum esset, non esset hoc acrioris cuiusdam animi praeceptum tributum deo.

53. Sed si, qualis sit animus, ipse animus nesciet, dic, quaeso, ne esse quidem se sciet, ne moveri quidem se? Ex quo illa ratio nata est Platonis, quae a Socrate est in Phaedro explicata, a me autem posita est in sexto libro de re publica: 23. 'Quod semper movetur, aeternum est; *quod autem motum* adfert alicui, quodque ipsum *agitatur aliunde, quando* finem habet motus, vivendi

finem habeat necesse est. Solum igitur, quod se ipsum movet, quia numquam deseritur a se, numquam ne moveri quidem desinit; quin etiam ceteris, quae moventur, hic fons, hoc principium est movendi. 54. Principii autem nulla est origo; nam e principio oriuntur omnia, ipsum autem nulla ex re alia nasci potest; nec enim esset id principium, quod gigneretur aliunde; quod si numquam oritur, ne occidit quidem umquam; nam principium extinctum nec ipsum ab alio renascetur nec ex se aliud creabit, siquidem necesse est a principio oriri omnia. Ita fit, ut motus principium ex eo sit, quod ipsum a se movetur; id autem nec nasci potest nec mori, vel concidat omne caelum omnisque natura consistat necesse est nec vim ullam nanciscatur, qua a primo impulsa moveatur. Cum pateat igitur aeternum id esse, quod se ipsum moveat, quis est, qui hanc naturam animis esse tributam neget? Inanimum est enim omne, quod pulsu agitatur externo: quod autem est animal, id motu cietur interiore et suo; nam haec est propria natura animi atque vis. Quae si est una ex omnibus, quae se ipsa [semper] moveat, neque nata certe est et aeterna est.' 55. Licet concurrant omnes plebeii philosophi (sic enim ii, qui a Platone et Socrate et ab ea familia dissident, appellandi videntur), non modo nihil umquam tam eleganter explicabunt, sed ne hoc quidem ipsum quam subtiliter conclusum sit, intellegent. Sentit igitur animus se moveri; quod cum sentit, illud una sentit, se vi sua, non aliena moveri, nec accidere posse, ut ipse umquam a se deseratur. Ex quo efficitur aeternitas, nisi quid habes ad haec.

A. Ego vero facile sum passus ne in mentem quidem *mihi aliquid contra* venire; ita isti faveo sententiae.

24. 56. *M.* Quid? illa tandem num leviora censes, quae declarant inesse in animis hominum divina quaedam? quae si cernerem quem ad modum nasci possent, etiam quem ad modum interirent viderem. Nam sanguinem, bilem, pituitam, ossa, nervos, venas, omnem denique membrorum et totius corporis figuram videor posse dicere, unde concreta et quo modo facta sint; animum ipsum, — si nihil esset in eo nisi id, ut per eum viveremus, tam natura putarem hominis vitam sustentari quam vitis, quam arboris; haec enim etiam dicimus vivere. Item si nihil haberet animus hominis, nisi ut appeteret aut fugeret, id quoque esset ei commune cum bestiis. 57. Habet primum memoriam, et eam infinitam rerum innumerabilium, quam quidem Plato recordationem esse volt vitae superioris. Nam in illo libro, qui inscribitur Menon, pusionem quendam Socrates interrogat quaedam geometrica de dimensione quadrati. Ad ea sic ille respondet, ut puer, et tamen ita faciles interrogationes sunt, ut gradatim respondens eodem perveniat, quo si geometrica didicisset. Ex quo effici volt Socrates, ut discere nihil aliud sit nisi recordari. Quem locum multo etiam accuratius explicat in eo sermone, quem habuit eo ipso die, quo excessit e vita; docet enim quemvis, qui omnium rerum rudis esse videatur, bene interroganti respondentem declarare se non tum illa discere, sed reminiscendo recognoscere; nec vero fieri ullo modo posse, ut a pueris tot rerum atque tantarum insitas et quasi consignatas in animis notiones, quas ἐννοίας vocant, haberemus, nisi animus, ante quam in corpus intravisset, in rerum cognitione viguisset. 58. Cumque nihil esset, ut omnibus locis a *Platone* disseritur (nihil enim ille putat *esse, quod oriatur et intereat*, idque solum esse, quod

semper tale sit, quale est; ἰδέαν appellat ille, nos speciem), non potuit animus haec in corpore inclusus adgnoscere, cognita attulit; ex quo tam multarum rerum cognitionis admiratio tollitur. Neque ea plane videt animus, cum repente in tam insolitum tamque perturbatum domicilium inmigravit, sed, cum se collegit atque recreavit, tum adgnoscit illa reminiscendo. Ita nihil est aliud discere nisi recordari.

59. Ego autem maiore etiam quodam modo memoriam admiror. Quid est enim illud, quo meminimus, aut quam habet vim aut unde naturam? Non quaero, quanta memoria Simonides fuisse dicatur, quanta Theodectes, quanta is, qui a Pyrrho legatus ad senatum est missus, Cineas, quanta nuper Charmadas, quanta, qui modo fuit, Scepsius Metrodorus, quanta noster Hortensius; de communi hominum memoria loquor, et eorum maxume, qui in aliquo maiore studio et arte versantur; quorum quanta mens sit, difficile est existimare; ita multa meminerunt.

25. 60. Quorsus igitur haec spectat oratio? Quae sit illa vis et unde sit, intellegendum puto. Non est certe nec cordis nec sanguinis nec cerebri nec atomorum; animae sit ignisne, nescio, nec me pudet, ut istos, fateri nescire, quod nesciam; illud, si ulla alia de re obscura adfirmare possem, sive anima sive ignis sit animus, eum iurarem esse divinum. Quid enim? obsecro te, terrane tibi hoc nebuloso et caliginoso caelo aut sata aut concreta videtur tanta vis memoriae? 61. Si, quid sit hoc, non vides, at, quale sit, vides; si ne id quidem, at, quantum sit, profecto vides. Quid igitur? utrum capacitatem aliquam in animo putamus esse, quo tamquam in aliquod *vas ea, quae* meminimus, infundantur? Absurdum id *quidem.* Qui enim fundus aut quae talis animi figura

intellegi potest aut quae tanta omnino capacitas? An inprimi quasi ceram animum putamus, et esse memoriam signatarum rerum in mente vestigia? Quae possunt verborum, quae rerum ipsarum esse vestigia, quae porro tam inmensa magnitudo, quae illa tam multa possit effingere?

62. Quid? illa vis quae tandem est, quae investigat occulta, quae inventio atque cogitatio dicitur? Ex hacne tibi terrena mortalique natura et caduca concreta ea videtur, aut qui primus, quod summae sapientiae Pythagorae visum est, omnibus rebus imposuit nomina, aut qui dissipatos homines congregavit et ad societatem vitae convocavit, aut qui sonos vocis, qui infiniti videbantur, paucis litterarum notis terminavit, aut qui errantium stellarum cursus, praegressiones, institiones notavit? Omnes magni, etiam superiores, qui fruges, qui vestitum, qui tecta, qui cultum vitae, qui praesidia contra feras invenerunt, a quibus mansuefacti et exculti a necessariis artificiis ad elegantiora defluximus. Nam et auribus oblectatio magna parta est, inventa et temperata varietate et natura sonorum, et astra suspeximus cum ea, quae sunt infixa certis locis, tum illa non re, sed vocabulo errantia; quorum conversiones omnisque motus qui animo vidit, is docuit similem animum suum eius esse, qui ea fabricatus esset in caelo. 63. Nam cum Archimedes lunae, solis, quinque errantium motus in sphaeram inligavit, effecit idem, quod ille, qui in Timaeo mundum aedificavit, Platonis deus, ut tarditate et celeritate dissimillimos motus una regeret conversio. Quod si in hoc mundo fieri sine deo non potest, ne in sphaera quidem eosdem motus Archimedes sine divino ingenio potuisset imitari.

26. 64. *Mihi vero ne haec* quidem notiora et inlustriora *carere vi divina videntur*, ut ego aut poëtam grave ple-

numque carmen sine caelesti aliquo mentis instinctu putem fundere, aut eloquentiam sine maiore quadam vi fluere abundantem sonantibus verbis uberibusque sententiis. Philosophia vero, omnium mater artium, quid est aliud nisi, ut Plato, donum, ut ego, inventum deorum? Haec nos primum ad illorum cultum, deinde ad ius hominum, quod situm est in generis humani societate, tum ad modestiam magnitudinemque animi erudivit, eademque ab animo tamquam ab oculis caliginem dispulit, ut omnia supera infera, prima ultima media videremus.

65. Prorsus haec divina mihi videtur vis, quae tot res efficiat et tantas. Quid est enim memoria rerum et verborum? quid porro inventio? Profecto id, quo ne in deo quidem quicquam maius intellegi potest. Non enim ambrosia deos aut nectare aut Iuventate pocula ministrante laetari arbitror, nec Homerum audio, qui Ganymeden ab dis raptum ait propter formam, ut Iovi bibere ministraret, — non iusta causa, cur Laomedonti tanta fieret iniuria. Fingebat haec Homerus et humana ad deos transferebat; divina mallem ad nos. Quae autem divina? Vigere, sapere, invenire, meminisse. Ergo animus [qui], ut ego dico, divinus est, ut Euripides dicere audet, deus, et quidem, si deus aut anima aut ignis est, idem est animus hominis. Nam ut illa natura caelestis et terra vacat et umore, sic utriusque harum rerum humanus animus est expers. Sin autem est quinta quaedam natura, ab Aristotele inducta primum, haec et deorum est et animorum. Hanc nos sententiam secuti his ipsis verbis in Consolatione expressimus: 27. 66. 'Animorum nulla in terris origo inveniri potest. Nihil enim est in *animis mixtum* atque concretum, aut quod ex terra natum *atque fictum* esse videatur, nihil ne aut umidum quidem

aut flabile aut igneum. His enim in naturis nihil inest, quod vim memoriae, mentis, cogitationis habeat, quod et praeterita teneat et futura provideat et complecti possit praesentia, quae sola divina sunt, nec invenietur umquam, unde ad hominem venire possint nisi a deo. Singularis est igitur quaedam natura atque vis animi seiuncta ab his usitatis notisque naturis. Ita, quicquid est illud, quod sentit, quod sapit, quod vivit, quod viget, caeleste et divinum ob eamque rem aeternum sit necesse est. Nec vero deus ipse, qui intellegitur a nobis, alio modo intellegi potest nisi mens soluta quaedam et libera, segregata ab omni concretione mortali, omnia sentiens et movens ipsaque praedita motu sempiterno.' 67. Hoc e genere atque eadem e natura est humana mens. — Ubi igitur aut qualis est ista mens? — Ubi tua aut qualis? potesne dicere? an, si omnia ad intellegendum non habeo, quae habere vellem, ne iis quidem, quae habeo, mihi per te uti licebit? — Non valet tantum animus, ut se ipse videat. — At ut oculus, sic animus se non videns alia cernit. — Non videt autem, quod minimum est, formam suam. — Fortasse; quamquam id quoque. Sed relinquamus; vim certe, sagacitatem, memoriam, motum, celeritatem videt. Haec magna, haec divina, haec sempiterna sunt. Qua facie quidem sit aut ubi habitet, ne quaerendum quidem est.

28. 68. Ut cum videmus speciem primum candoremque caeli, dein conversionis celeritatem tantam, quantam cogitare non possumus, tum vicissitudines dierum ac noctium commutationesque temporum quadrupertitas ad maturitatem frugum et ad temperationem corporum aptas eorumque omnium *moderatorem* et ducem solem lunam*que accretione et deminutione* luminis quasi fastorum

notantem et significantem dies, tum in eodem orbe in duodecim partes distributo quinque stellas ferri, eosdem cursus constantissime servantis disparibus inter se motibus, nocturnamque caeli formam undique sideribus ornatam, tum globum terrae eminentem e mari, fixum in medio mundi universi loco, duabus oris distantibus habitabilem et cultum, quarum altera, quam nos incolimus,

Sub áxe posita ad stéllas septem, unde hórrifer
Aquilónis stridor gélidas molitúr nives,

altera australis, ignota nobis, quam vocant Graeci ἀντίχθονα, ceteras partis incultas, quod aut frigore rigeant aut urantur calore; 69. (hic autem, ubi habitamus, non intermittit suo tempore

Caelúm nitescere, árbores frondéscere,
Vités laetificae pámpinis pubéscere,
Ramí bacarum ubértate incurvéscere,
Segetés largiri frúges, florere ómnia,
Fontés scatere, herbis práta convestírier),

tum multitudinem pecudum partim ad vescendum, partim ad cultus agrorum, partim ad vehendum, partim ad corpora vestienda, hominemque ipsum quasi contemplatorem caeli ac deorum cultorem atque hominis utilitati agros omnis et maria parentia: — 70. haec igitur et alia innumerabilia cum cernimus, possumusne dubitare, quin iis praesit aliquis vel effector, si haec nata sunt, ut Platoni videtur, vel, si semper fuerunt, ut Aristoteli placet, moderator tanti operis et muneris? Sic mentem hominis, quamvis eam non videas, ut deum non vides, tamen, ut deum adgnoscis ex operibus eius, sic ex memoria rerum et inventione et celeritate motus omnique pulchritudine virtutis vim divinam mentis adgnoscito.

29. In quo igitur loco est? Credo equidem in capite et, cur credam, adferre possum. Sed alias, ubi sit animus; certe quidem in te est. Quae est ei natura? Propria, puto, et sua. Sed fac igneam, fac spirabilem; nihil ad id, de quo agimus. Illud modo videto, ut deum noris, etsi eius ignores et locum et faciem, sic animum tibi tuum notum esse oportere, etiamsi ignores et locum et formam.

71. In animi autem cognitione dubitare non possumus, nisi plane in physicis plumbei sumus, quin nihil sit animis admixtum, nihil concretum, nihil copulatum, nihil coagmentatum, nihil duplex. Quod cum ita sit, certe nec secerni nec dividi nec discerpi nec distrahi potest, ne interire quidem igitur. Est enim interitus quasi discessus et secretio ac diremptus earum partium, quae ante interitum iunctione aliqua tenebantur.

His et talibus rationibus adductus Socrates nec patronum quaesivit ad iudicium capitis nec iudicibus supplex fuit adhibuitque liberam contumaciam a magnitudine animi ductam, non a superbia, et supremo vitae die de hoc ipso multa disseruit et paucis ante diebus, cum facile posset educi e custodia, noluit et tum paene in manu iam mortiferum illud tenens poculum locutus ita est, ut non ad mortem trudi, verum in caelum videretur escendere.

30. 72. Ita enim censebat itaque disseruit, duas esse vias duplicesque cursus animorum e corpore exceden-tium; nam qui se humanis vitiis contaminavissent et se totos libidinibus dedissent, quibus caecati vel domesticis vitiis atque flagitiis se inquinavissent vel re publica violanda fraudes inexpiabiles concepissent, iis devium quoddam iter esse, seclusum a concilio deorum; qui autem se integros *castosque* servavissent, quibusque *fuisset minima cum corporibus* contagio seseque ab iis

semper sevocavissent essentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum, iis ad illos, a quibus essent profecti, reditum facilem patere. 73. Itaque commemorat, ut cygni, qui non sine causa Apollini dicati sint, sed quod ab eo divinationem habere videantur, qua providentes, quid in morte boni sit, cum cantu et voluptate moriantur, sic omnibus bonis et doctis esse faciendum. Nec vero de hoc quisquam dubitare posset, nisi idem nobis accideret diligenter de animo cogitantibus, quod iis saepe usu venit, qui [cum] acriter oculis deficientem solem intuerentur, ut aspectum omnino amitterent; sic mentis acies se ipsa intuens non numquam hebescit, ob eamque causam contemplandi diligentiam amittimus. Itaque dubitans, circumspectans, haesitans, multa adversa reverens tamquam in rate in mari inmenso nostra vehitur ratio. 74. Sed haec et vetera et a Graecis. Cato autem sic abiit e vita, ut causam moriendi nactum se esse gauderet. Vetat enim dominans ille in nobis deus iniussu hinc nos suo demigrare; cum vero causam iustam deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, saepe multis, ne ille medius fidius vir sapiens laetus ex his tenebris in lucem illam excesserit, nec tamen illa vincla carceris ruperit [leges enim vetant], sed tamquam a magistratu aut ab aliqua potestate legitima, sic a deo evocatus atque emissus exierit. Tota enim philosophorum vita, ut ait idem, commentatio mortis est. 31. 75. Nam quid aliud agimus, cum a voluptate, id est a corpore, cum a re familiari, quae est ministra et famula corporis, cum a re publica, cum a negotio omni sevocamus animum, quid, inquam, tum agimus, nisi animum ad se ipsum advocamus, *secum esse* cogimus maximeque a corpore abducimus? *Secernere* autem a corpore animum, nec quidquam aliud,

est mori discere. Quare hoc commentemur, mihi crede, disiungamusque nos a corporibus, id est consuescamus mori. Hoc, et dum erimus in terris, erit illi caelesti vitae simile, et cum illuc ex his vinclis emissi feremur, minus tardabitur cursus animorum. Nam qui in compedibus corporis semper fuerunt, etiam cum soluti sunt, tardius ingrediuntur, ut ii, qui ferro vincti multos annos fuerunt. Quo cum venerimus, tum denique vivemus. Nam haec quidem vita mors est, quam lamentari possem, si liberet.

76. *A.* Satis tu quidem in Consolatione es lamentatus; quam cum lego, nihil malo quam has res relinquere, his vero modo auditis multo magis.

M. Veniet tempus, et quidem celeriter, sive retractabis sive properabis; volat enim aetas. Tantum autem abest ab eo, ut malum mors sit, quod tibi dudum videbatur, ut verear, ne homini nihil sit non malum aliud, certe sit nihil bonum aliud potius, siquidem vel di ipsi vel cum dis futuri sumus.

A. Quid refert?

M. Adsunt enim, qui haec non probent. Ego autem numquam ita te in hoc sermone dimittam, ulla uti ratione mors tibi videri malum possit.

77. *A.* Qui potest, cum ista cognoverim?

M. Qui possit, rogas? Catervae veniunt contra dicentium, nec solum Epicureorum, quos equidem non despicio, sed nescio quo modo doctissimus quisque [contemnit], acerrume autem deliciae meae Dicaearchus, contra hanc immortalitatem disseruit. Is enim tris libros scripsit, qui Lesbiaci vocantur, quod Mytilenis sermo habetur, in quibus volt efficere animos esse mortalis. Stoici *autem usuram nobis* largiuntur tamquam corni*cibus; diu mansuros* aiunt animos, semper negant.

32. Num non vis igitur audire, cur, etiamsi ita sit, mors tamen non sit in malis?

A. Ut videtur; sed me nemo de inmortalitate depellet.

78. *M.* Laudo id quidem, etsi nihil nimis oportet confidere. Movemur enim saepe aliquo acute concluso, labamus mutamusque sententiam clarioribus etiam in rebus; in his est enim aliqua obscuritas. Id igitur si acciderit, simus armati.

A. Sane quidem; sed ne accidat, providebo.

M. Num quid igitur est causae, quin amicos nostros Stoicos dimittamus? eos dico, qui aiunt manere animos, cum e corpore excesserint, sed non semper.

A. Istos vero, qui, quod tota in hac causa difficillimum est, suscipiant, posse animum manere corpore vacantem, illud autem, quod non modo facile ad credendum est, sed eo concesso, quod volunt, consequens, id non concedant, ut, cum diu permanserit, ne intereat.

79. *M.* Bene reprehendis, et se isto modo res habet. Credamus igitur Panaetio a Platone suo dissentienti? Quem enim omnibus locis divinum, quem sapientissimum, quem sanctissimum, quem Homerum philosophorum appellat, huius hanc unam sententiam de inmortalitate animorum non probat. Volt enim, quod nemo negat, quicquid natum sit, interire; nasci autem animos, quod declaret eorum similitudo, qui procreentur, quae etiam in ingeniis, non solum in corporibus appareat. Alteram autem adfert rationem, nihil esse, quod doleat, quin id aegrum esse quoque possit; quod autem in morbum cadat, id etiam interiturum; dolere autem animos, ergo etiam interire. **33.** 80. Haec refelli possunt; *sunt enim* ignorantis, cum de aeternitate animorum *dicatur*, de mente dici, quae omni turbido motu

semper vacet, non de partibus iis, in quibus aegritudines, irae libidinesque versentur, quas is, contra quem haec dicuntur, semotas a mente et disclusas putat. Iam similitudo magis apparet in bestiis, quarum animi sunt rationis expertes; hominum autem similitudo in corporum figura magis exstat, et ipsi animi magni refert quali in corpore locati sint. Multa enim e corpore existunt, quae acuant mentem, multa, quae obtundant. Aristoteles quidem ait omnis ingeniosos melancholicos esse, — ut ego me tardiorem esse non moleste feram. Enumerat multos, idque quasi constet, rationem, cur ita fiat, adfert. Quodsi tanta vis est ad habitum mentis in iis, quae gignuntur in corpore (ea sunt autem, quaecumque sunt, quae similitudinem faciant), nihil necessitatis adfert, cur nascantur animi, similitudo. 81. Omitto dissimilitudines. Vellem adesse posset Panaetius (vixit cum Africano); quaererem ex eo, cuius suorum similis fuisset Africani fratris nepos, facie vel patris, vita omnium perditorum ita similis, ut esset facile deterrimus; cuius etiam similis P. Crassi, et sapientis et eloquentis et primi hominis, nepos multorumque aliorum clarorum virorum, quos nihil attinet nominare, nepotes et filii. Sed quid agimus? oblitine sumus hoc nunc nobis esse propositum, cum satis de aeternitate dixissemus, ne si interirent quidem animi, quicquam mali esse in morte?

A. Ego vero memineram, sed te de aeternitate dicentem aberrare a proposito facile patiebar.

34. 82. *M.* Video te alte spectare et velle in caelum migrare. Spero fore ut contingat id nobis. Sed fac, ut isti volunt, *animos non* remanere post mortem; video *nos, si ita sit, privari spe* beatioris vitae; mali vero quid

adfert ista sententia? Fac enim sic animum interire, ut corpus; num igitur aliquis dolor aut omnino post mortem sensus in corpore est? Nemo id quidem dicit, etsi Democritum insimulat Epicurus, Democritii negant. Ne in animo quidem igitur sensus remanet; ipse enim nusquam est. Ubi igitur malum est, quoniam nihil tertium est? an quod ipse animi discessus a corpore non fit sine dolore? Ut credam ita esse, quam est id exiguum! Sed falsum esse arbitror, et fit plerumque sine sensu, non numquam etiam cum voluptate, totumque hoc leve est, qualecumque est; fit enim ad punctum temporis.

83. Illud angit vel potius excruciat: discessus ab omnibus iis, quae sunt bona in vita. Vide, ne 'a malis' dici verius possit. Quid ego nunc lugeam vitam hominum? Vere et iure possum; sed quid necesse est, cum id agam, ne post mortem miseros nos putemus fore, etiam vitam efficere deplorando miseriorem? Fecimus hoc in eo libro, in quo nosmet ipsos, quantum potuimus, consolati sumus. A malis igitur mors abducit, non a bonis, verum si quaerimus. Et quidem hoc a Cyrenaico Hegesia sic copiose disputatur, ut is a rege Ptolomaeo prohibitus esse dicatur illa in scholis dicere, quod multi iis auditis mortem sibi ipsi consciscerent. 84. Callimachi quidem epigramma in Ambraciotam Cleombrotum est, quem ait, cum ei nihil accidisset adversi, e muro se in mare abiecisse lecto Platonis libro. Eius autem, quem dixi, Hegesiae liber est Ἀποκαρτερῶν, in quo a vita quidam per inediam discedens revocatur ab amicis, quibus respondens vitae humanae enumerat incommoda. Possem idem facere, etsi minus quam ille, qui omnino vivere expedire nemini putat. Mitto alios; etiamne *nobis expedit?* qui et domesticis et forensibus solaciis

ornamentisque privati — certe, si ante occidissemus, mors nos a malis, non a bonis abstraxisset. **35. 85.** Sit igitur aliquis, qui nihil mali habeat, nullum a fortuna volnus acceperit — Metellus ille, honoratis quattuor filiis. At quinquaginta Priamus, e quibus septemdecim iusta uxore natis. In utroque eandem habuit fortuna potestatem, sed usa in altero est. Metellum enim multi filii filiae, nepotes neptes, in rogum inposuerunt, Priamum tanta progenie orbatum, cum in aram confugisset, hostilis manus interemit. Hic si vivis filiis incolumi regno occidisset

> . . . *astánte ope bárbarica*
> *Tectís caelatis, láqueatis,*

utrum tandem a bonis an a malis discessisset? Tum profecto videretur a bonis. At certe ei melius evenisset, nec tam flebiliter illa canerentur:

> *Haec ómnia vidi inflámmari,*
> *Priamó vi vitam evítari,*
> *Iovis áram sanguine túrpari.*

Quasi vero ista vi quicquam tum potuerit ei melius accidere! Quodsi ante occidisset, talem eventum omnino amisisset; hoc autem tempore sensum amisit malorum. **86.** Pompeio, nostro familiari, cum graviter aegrotaret Neapoli, melius est factum. Coronati Neapolitani fuerunt — nimirum etiam Puteolani — volgo ex oppidis publice gratulabantur. Ineptum sane negotium et Graeculum, sed tamen fortunatum. Utrum igitur, si tum esset extinctus, a bonis rebus an a malis discessisset? Certe a miseris. Non enim cum socero bellum gessisset, non inparatus arma sumpsisset, non domum reliquisset, non ex Italia fugisset, non exercitu amisso nudus in servorum *ferrum et manus incidisset* [non liberi defleti, non fortunae

omnes a victoribus possiderentur]. Qui, si mortem tum obisset, in amplissimis fortunis occidisset, is propagatione vitae quot, quantas, quam incredibilis hausit calamitates! **36.** Haec morte effugiuntur, etiamsi non evenerunt, tamen quia possunt evenire; sed homines ea sibi accidere posse non cogitant. Metelli sperat sibi quisque fortunam, proinde quasi aut plures fortunati sint quam infelices aut certi quicquam sit in rebus humanis aut sperare sit prudentius quam timere!

37. Sed hoc ipsum concedatur, bonis rebus homines morte privari; ergo etiam carere mortuos vitae commodis, idque esse miserum? Certe ita dicant necesse est. An potest is, qui non est, re ulla carere? Triste enim est nomen ipsum carendi, quia subicitur haec vis: habuit, non habet, desiderat, requirit, indiget. Haec, opinor, incommoda sunt carentis. Caret oculis, odiosa caecitas; liberis, orbitas. Valet hoc in vivis, mortuorum autem non modo vitae commodis, sed ne vita quidem ipsa quisquam caret. De mortuis loquor, qui nulli sunt; nos, qui sumus, num aut sic cornibus caremus aut pinnis? ecquis id dixerit? Certe nemo. Quid ita? Quia, cum id non habeas, quod tibi nec usu nec natura sit aptum, non careas, etiamsi sentias te non habere. **38.** Hoc premendum etiam atque etiam est argumentum confirmato illo, de quo, si mortales animi sunt, dubitare non possumus, quin tantus interitus in morte sit, ut ne minima quidem suspicio sensus relinquatur; hoc igitur probe stabilito et fixo illud excutiendum est, ut sciatur, quid sit carere, ne relinquatur aliquid erroris in verbo. 'Carere' igitur hoc significat: egere eo, quod habere *velis. Inest* enim velle in carendo, nisi cum sic tamquam *in febri dicitur* alia quadam notione verbi; dicitur enim

alio modo etiam carere, cum aliquid non habeas et non habere te sentias, etiamsi id facile patiare. Sic carere in morte non dicitur; nec enim esset dolendum; dicitur illud: bono carere, quod est malum. Sed ne vivus quidem bono caret, si eo non indiget; sed in vivo intellegi tamen potest — regno te carere (dici autem hoc in te satis subtiliter non potest; posset in Tarquinio, cum regno esset expulsus), at in mortuo ne intellegi quidem. Carere enim sentientis est, nec sensus in mortuo; ne carere quidem igitur in mortuo est. **37. 89.** Quamquam quid opus est in hoc philosophari, cum rem non magnopere philosophia egere videamus? Quotiens non modo ductores nostri, sed universi etiam exercitus ad non dubiam mortem concurrerunt! Quae quidem si timeretur, non L. Brutus arcens eum reditu tyrannum, quem ipse expulerat, in proelio concidisset, non cum Latinis decertans pater Decius, cum Etruscis filius, cum Pyrrho nepos se hostium telis obiecissent, non uno bello pro patria cadentis Scipiones Hispania vidisset, Paulum et Geminum Cannae, Venusia Marcellum, Litana Albinum, Lucani Gracchum. Num quis horum miser hodie? Ne tum quidem post spiritum extremum; nec enim potest esse miser quisquam sensu perempto.

90. At id ipsum odiosum est, sine sensu esse. Odiosum, si id esset carere. Cum vero perspicuum sit nihil posse in eo esse, qui ipse non sit, quid potest esse in eo odiosum, qui nec careat nec sentiat? Quamquam hoc quidem nimis saepe; sed eo, quod in hoc inest omnis animi contractio ex metu mortis. Qui enim satis viderit, id quod est luce clarius, animo et corpore consumpto totoque animante *deleto* et facto interitu universo illud *animal, quod fuerit, factum* esse nihil, is plane perspiciet

inter hippocentaurum, qui numquam fuerit, et regem Agamemnonem nihil interesse, nec pluris nunc facere M. Camillum hoc civile bellum, quam ego illo vivo fecerim Romam captam.

Cur igitur et Camillus doleret, si haec post trecentos et quinquaginta fere annos eventura putaret, et ego doleam, si ad decem milia annorum gentem aliquam urbem nostram potituram putem? Quia tanta caritas patriae est, ut eam non sensu nostro, sed salute ipsius metiamur.

38. 91. Itaque non deterret sapientem mors, quae propter incertos casus cotidie imminet, propter brevitatem vitae numquam potest longe abesse, quo minus in omne tempus rei publicae suisque consulat aut posteritatem ipsam, cuius sensum habiturus non sit, ad se putet pertinere. Quare licet etiam mortalem esse animum iudicantem aeterna moliri, non gloriae cupiditate, quam sensurus non sit, sed virtutis, quam necessario gloria, etiamsi tu id non agas, consequatur. Natura vero si se sic habet, ut, quo modo initium nobis rerum omnium ortus noster adferat, sic exitum mors, ut nihil pertinuit ad nos ante ortum, sic nihil post mortem pertinebit. In quo quid potest esse mali, cum mors nec ad vivos pertineat nec ad mortuos? Alteri nulli sunt, alteros non attinget.

92. Quam qui leviorem faciunt, somni simillimam volunt esse. Quasi vero quisquam ita nonaginta annos velit vivere, ut, cum sexaginta confecerit, reliquos dormiat! ne sui quidem id velint, non modo ipse. Endymion vero, si fabulas audire volumus, ut nescio quando in Latmo obdormivit, qui est mons Cariae, nondum, opinor, est experrectus. Num igitur eum curare censes, cum *Luna laboret?* a qua consopitus putatur, ut eum dormientem *oscularetur.* Quid curet autem, qui ne sentit quidem?

Habes somnum imaginem mortis eamque cotidie induis, et dubitas, quin sensus in morte nullus sit, cum in eius simulacro videas esse nullum sensum?

39. 93. Pellantur ergo istae ineptiae paene aniles, ante tempus mori miserum esse. Quod tandem tempus? naturaene? At ea quidem dedit usuram vitae tamquam pecuniae nulla praestituta die. Quid est igitur, quod querare, si repetit, cum volt? ea enim condicione acceperas. Iidem, si puer parvus occidit, aequo animo ferendum putant, si vero in cunis, ne querendum quidem. Atqui ab hoc acerbius exegit natura, quod dederat. Nondum gustaverat, inquit, vitae suavitatem; hic autem iam sperabat magna, quibus frui coeperat. At id quidem in ceteris rebus melius putatur, aliquam partem quam nullam attingere; cur in vita secus? (Quamquam non male ait Callimachus multo saepius lacrimasse Priamum quam Troilum.)

94. Eorum autem, qui exacta aetate moriuntur, fortuna laudatur. Cur? nam, reor, nullis, si vita longior daretur, posset esse iucundior. Nihil enim est profecto homini prudentia dulcius, quam, ut cetera auferat, adfert certe senectus. Quae vero aetas longa est, aut quid omnino homini longum? nonne

Módo pueros, modo ádulescentes ín cursu a tergo ínsequens
Néc opinantis ádsecuta est

senectus? Sed quia ultra nihil habemus, hoc longum dicimus. Omnia ista, perinde ut cuique data sunt pro rata parte, ita aut longa aut brevia dicuntur. Apud Hypanim fluvium, qui ab Europae parte in Pontum influit, Aristoteles ait *bestiolas* quasdam nasci, quae unum diem *vivant. Ex his igitur* hora octava quae mortua est, pro-

vecta aetate mortua est; quae vero occidente sole, decrepita, eo magis, si etiam solstitiali die. Confer nostram longissimam aetatem cum aeternitate; in eadem propemodum brevitate, qua illae bestiolae, reperiemur.

40. 95. Contemnamus igitur omnis ineptias (quod enim levius huic levitati nomen imponam ?) totamque vim bene vivendi in animi robore ac magnitudine et in omnium rerum humanarum contemptione ac despicientia et in omni virtute ponamus. Nam nunc quidem cogitationibus mollissimis effeminamur, ut, si ante mors adventet, quam Chaldaeorum promissa consecuti sumus, spoliati magnis quibusdam bonis inlusi destitutique videamur.

96. Quodsi exspectando et desiderando pendemus animis, cruciamur, angimur, pro di inmortales ! quam illud iter iucundum esse debet, quo confecto nulla reliqua cura, nulla sollicitudo futura sit! Quam me delectat Theramenes ! quam elato animo est ! Etsi enim flemus, cum legimus, tamen non miserabiliter vir clarus emoritur. Qui cum coniectus in carcerem triginta iussu tyrannorum venenum ut sitiens obduxisset, reliquum sic e poculo eiecit, ut id resonaret; quo sonitu reddito adridens 'Propino,' inquit, 'hoc pulchro Critiae,' qui in eum fuerat taeterrimus. Graeci enim in conviviis solent nominare, cui poculum tradituri sint. Lusit vir egregius extremo spiritu, cum iam praecordiis conceptam mortem contineret, vereque ei, cui venenum praebiberat, mortem eam est auguratus, quae brevi consecuta est. Quis hanc maximi animi aequitatem in ipsa morte laudaret, si mortem malum iudicaret ?

97. *Vadit [enim]* in eundem carcerem atque in eundem *paucis post annis* scyphum Socrates eodem scelere iudi-

cum, quo tyrannorum Theramenes. Quae est igitur eius oratio, qua facit eum Plato usum apud iudices iam morte multatum? **41.** 'Magna me,' inquit, 'spes tenet, iudices, bene mihi evenire, quod mittar ad mortem. Necesse est enim sit alterum de duobus, ut aut sensus omnino omnes mors auferat aut in alium quendam locum ex his locis morte migretur. Quam ob rem, sive sensus extinguitur morsque ei somno similis est, qui non numquam etiam sine visis somniorum placatissimam quietem adfert, di boni, quid lucri est emori! aut quam multi dies reperiri possunt, qui tali nocti anteponantur — cui si similis futura est perpetuitas omnis consequentis temporis, quis me beatior? **98.** Sin vera sunt, quae dicuntur, migrationem esse mortem in eas oras, quas, qui e vita excesserunt, incolunt, id multo iam beatius est. Tene, cum ab iis, qui se iudicum numero haberi volunt, evaseris, ad eos venire, qui vere iudices appellentur, Minoem, Rhadamanthum, Aeacum, Triptolemum, convenireque eos, qui iuste et cum fide vixerint! Haec peregrinatio mediocris vobis videri potest? Ut vero conloqui cum Orpheo, Musaeo, Homero, Hesiodo liceat, quanti tandem aestimatis? Equidem saepe emori, si fieri posset, vellem, ut ea, quae dico, mihi liceret invenire. Quanta delectatione autem adficerer, cum Palamedem, cum Aiacem, cum alios iudicio iniquo circumventos convenirem! Temptarem etiam summi regis, qui maximas copias duxit ad Troiam, et Ulixi Sisyphique prudentiam, nec ob eam rem, cum haec exquirerem, sicut hic faciebam, capite damnarer. Ne vos quidem, iudices ii, qui me absolvistis, mortem timueritis. **99.** Nec enim cuiquam bono mali quicquam evenire potest nec vivo nec *mortuo, nec* umquam eius res a dis immortalibus *neglegentur, nec* mihi ipsi hoc accidit fortuito.

Nec vero ego iis, a quibus accusatus aut a quibus condemnatus sum, habeo quod suscenseam, nisi quod mihi nocere se crediderunt.' Et haec quidem hoc modo; nihil autem melius extremo: 'Sed tempus est,' inquit, 'iam hinc abire me, ut moriar, vos, ut vitam agatis. Utrum autem sit melius, di inmortales sciunt, hominem quidem scire arbitror neminem.' **42.** Ne ego haud paulo hunc animum malim quam eorum omnium fortunas, qui de hoc iudicaverunt. Etsi, quod praeter deos negat scire quemquam, id scit ipse, utrum sit melius; nam dixit ante: sed suum illud, nihil ut adfirmet, tenet ad extremum. **100.** Nos autem teneamus, ut nihil censeamus esse malum, quod sit a natura datum omnibus, intellegamusque, si mors malum sit, esse sempiternum malum. Nam vitae miserae mors finis esse videtur; mors si est misera, finis esse nullus potest.

Sed quid ego Socratem aut Theramenem, praestantis viros virtutis et sapientiae gloria, commemoro, cum Lacedaemonius quidam, cuius ne nomen quidem proditum est, mortem tantopere contempserit, ut, cum ad eam duceretur damnatus ab ephoris et esset voltu hilari atque laeto, dixissetque ei quidam inimicus: 'Contemnisne leges Lycurgi?,' responderit: 'Ego vero illi maximam gratiam habeo, qui me ea poena multaverit, quam sine mutuatione et sine versura possem dissolvere'? O virum Sparta dignum! ut mihi quidem, qui tam magno animo fuerit, innocens damnatus esse videatur. **101.** Talis innumerabilis nostra civitas tulit. Sed quid duces et principes nominem, cum legiones scribat Cato saepe alacris in eum locum profectas, unde redituras se non *arbitrarentur*? Pari animo Lacedaemonii in Thermopylis *occiderunt*; in quos Simonides:

Dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic vidisse iacentis,
Dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.

[Quid ille dux Leonidas dicit? 'Pergite animo forti, Lacedaemonii; hodie apud inferos fortasse cenabimus.' Fuit haec gens fortis, dum Lycurgi leges vigebant.] E 5 quibus unus, cum Perses hostis in conloquio dixisset glorians: 'Solem prae iaculorum multitudine et sagittarum non videbitis,' 'In umbra igitur,' inquit, 'pugnabimus.' **102.** Viros commemoro; qualis tandem Lacaena? quae cum filium in proelium misisset et interfectum audisset, 'Idcirco,' inquit, 'genueram, ut esset, qui pro patria mortem non dubitaret occumbere.' **43.** Esto, fortes et duri Spartiatae; magnam habet vim rei publicae disciplina. Quid? Cyrenaeum Theodorum, philosophum non ignobilem, nonne miramur? cui cum Lysimachus rex crucem minaretur, 'Istis, quaeso,' inquit, 'ista horribilia minitare purpuratis tuis; Theodori quidem nihil interest, humine an sublime putescat.'

Cuius hoc dicto admoneor, ut aliquid etiam de humatione et sepultura dicendum existimem, rem non difficilem, iis praesertim cognitis, quae de nihil sentiendo paulo ante dicta sunt. De qua Socrates quidem quid senserit, apparet in eo libro, in quo moritur, de quo iam tam multa diximus. **103.** Cum enim de inmortalitate animorum disputavisset et iam moriendi tempus urgueret, rogatus a Critone, quem ad modum sepeliri vellet, 'Multam vero,' inquit, 'operam, amici, frustra consumpsi. Critoni enim nostro non persuasi me hinc avolaturum neque mei quicquam relicturum. Verum tamen, Crito, si me adsequi potueris aut sicubi nanctus eris, ut tibi videbitur, sepelito. *Sed, mihi crede, nemo me* vestrum, cum hinc excessero,

consequetur.' Praeclare id quidem, qui et amico permiserit et se ostenderit de hoc toto genere nihil laborare. 104. Durior Diogenes (et is quidem idem sentiens sed, ut Cynicus, asperius) proici se iussit inhumatum. Tum amici: 'Volucribusne et feris?' 'Minime vero,' inquit; 'sed bacillum propter me, quo abigam, ponitote.' 'Qui poteris?' illi, 'non enim senties.' 'Quid igitur mihi ferarum laniatus oberit nihil sentienti?' Praeclare Anaxagoras, qui cum Lampsaci moreretur, quaerentibus amicis, velletne Clazomenas in patriam, si quid accidisset, auferri, 'Nihil necesse est,' inquit; 'undique enim ad inferos tantundem viae est.' Totaque de ratione humationis unum tenendum est, ad corpus illam pertinere, sive occiderit animus sive vigeat. In corpore autem perspicuum est vel extincto animo vel elapso nullum residere sensum.

44. 105. Sed plena errorum sunt omnia. Trahit Hectorem ad currum religatum Achilles; lacerari eum et sentire, credo, putat. Ergo hic ulciscitur, ut quidem sibi videtur; at illa sicut acerbissimam rem maeret:

Vidí, videre quód me passa aegérrume,
Hectórem curru quádriiugo raptárier.

Quem Hectorem, aut quam diu ille erit Hector? Melius Accius et aliquando sapiens Achilles:

Ímmo enimvero córpus Priamo réddidi, Hectora dbstuli.

Non igitur Hectora traxisti, sed corpus, quod fuerat Hectoris. 106. Ecce alius exoritur e terra, qui matrem dormire non sinat:

Matér, te appello, tú, quae curam sómno suspensám levas,
Neque té mei miseret, súrge et sepeli nátum . . .

Haec cum pressis et flebilibus modis, qui totis theatris maestitiam inferant, concinuntur, difficile est non eos, qui inhumati sint, miseros iudicare.

prius quàm ferae
Volucrésque . . .

Metuit, ne laceratis membris minus bene utatur, ne combustis, non extimescit.

Neu rélliquias semiésas sireis dénudatis óssibus
Per térram sanie délibutas foéde divexárier.

107. Non intellego, quid metuat, cum tam bonos septenarios fundat ad tibiam. Tenendum est igitur nihil curandum esse post mortem, cum multi inimicos etiam mortuos poeniuntur. Exsecratur luculentis sane versibus apud Ennium Thyestes, primum ut naufragio pereat Atreus. Durum hoc sane; talis enim interitus non est sine gravi sensu; illa inania:

Ípse summis sáxis fixus ásperis, evísceratus,
Látere pendens, sáxa spargens tábo, sanie et sánguine atro.

Non ipsa saxa magis sensu omni vacabunt quam ille 'latere pendens,' cui se hic cruciatum censet optare. Quae essent dura, si sentirentur, nulla sunt sine sensu. Illud vero perquam inane:

Néque sepulcrum, quó recipiat, hábeat portum córporis,
Úbi remissa humána vita córpus requiescát malis.

Vides, quanto haec in errore versentur; portum esse corporis et requiescere in sepulcro putat mortuum, magna culpa Pelopis, qui non erudierit filium nec docuerit, quatenus esset *quidque* curandum.

45. 108. Sed quid singulorum opiniones animadver-

tam, nationum varios errores perspicere cum liceat? Condiunt Aegyptii mortuos et eos servant domi, Persae etiam cera circumlitos condunt, ut quam maxime permaneant diuturna corpora. Magorum mos est non humare corpora suorum, nisi a feris sint ante laniata. In Hyrcania plebs publicos alit canes, optumates domesticos. Nobile autem genus canum illud scimus esse; sed pro sua quisque facultate parat, a quibus lanietur, eamque optumam illi esse censent sepulturam. Permulta alia colligit Chrysippus, ut est in omni historia, curiosus; sed ita taetra sunt quaedam, ut ea fugiat et reformidet oratio. Totus igitur hic locus est contemnendus in nobis, non neglegendus in nostris, ita tamen, ut mortuorum corpora nihil sentire vivi sentiamus. Quantum autem consuetudini famaeque dandum sit, id curent vivi, sed ita, ut intellegant nihil id ad mortuos pertinere.

109. Sed profecto mors tum aequissimo animo oppetitur, cum suis se laudibus vita occidens consolari potest. Nemo parum diu vixit, qui virtutis perfectae perfecto functus est munere. Multa mihi ipsi ad mortem tempestiva fuerunt; quam utinam potuissem obire! Nihil enim iam acquirebatur; cumulata erant officia vitae, cum fortuna bella restabant. Quare si ipsa ratio minus perficiet, ut mortem neglegere possimus, at vita acta perficiat, ut satis superque vixisse videamur. Quamquam enim sensus abierit, tamen suis et propriis bonis laudis et gloriae, quamvis non sentiant, mortui non carent. (Etsi enim nihil habet in se gloria, cur expetatur, tamen virtutem tamquam umbra sequitur. Verum multitudinis iudicium de bonis si quando est, magis laudandum est *quam illi ob* eam rem beati.) 46. 110. Non possum *autem dicere,* quoquo modo hoc accipietur, Lycurgum,

Solonem legum et publicae disciplinae carere gloria, Themistoclem, Epaminondam bellicae virtutis. Ante enim Salamina ipsam Neptunus obruet quam Salaminii tropaei memoriam, priusque Boeotia Leuctra tollentur quam pugnae Leuctricae gloria. Multo autem tardius fama deseret Curium, Fabricium, Calatinum, duo Scipiones, duo Africanos, Maximum, Marcellum, Paulum, Catonem, Laelium, innumerabilis alios; quorum similitudinem aliquam qui arripuerit, non eam fama populari sed vera bonorum laude metiens, fidenti animo, si ita res feret, gradietur ad mortem, in qua aut summum bonum aut nullum malum esse cognovimus. Secundis vero suis rebus volet etiam mori; non enim tam cumulus bonorum iucundus esse potest quam molesta decessio. 111. Hanc sententiam significare videtur Laconis illa vox, qui, cum Rhodius Diagoras, Olympionices nobilis, uno die duo suos filios victores Olympiae vidisset, accessit ad senem et gratulatus: 'Morere, Diagora,' inquit; 'non enim in caelum ascensurus es.' Magna haec, et nimium fortasse, Graeci putant vel tum potius putabant, isque, qui hoc Diagorae dixit, permagnum existimans tris Olympionicas una e domo prodire, cunctari illum diutius in vita fortunae obiectum inutile putabat ipsi.

Ego autem tibi quidem quod satis esset, paucis verbis, ut mihi videbar, responderam. Concesseras enim nullo in malo mortuos esse, sed ob eam causam contendi, ut plura dicerem, quod in desiderio et luctu haec est consolatio maxima. Nostrum enim et nostra causa susceptum dolorem modice ferre debemus, ne nosmet ipsos amare videamur. Illa suspicio intolerabili dolore cruciat, si opinamur eos, quibus *orbati* sumus, esse cum aliquo sensu *in iis malis, quibus volgo* opinantur. Hanc excutere

opinionem mihimet volui radicitus eoque fui fortasse longior.

47. 112. *A.* Tu longior? non mihi quidem. Prior enim pars orationis tuae faciebat, ut mori cuperem, posterior, ut modo non nollem, modo non laborarem; omni autem oratione illud certe perfectum est, ut mortem non ducerem in malis.

M. Num igitur etiam rhetorum epilogum desideramus? an hanc iam artem plane relinquimus?

A. Tu vero istam ne reliqueris, quam semper ornasti, et quidem iure; illa enim te, verum si loqui volumus, ornaverat. Sed quinam est iste epilogus? aveo enim audire, quicquid est.

113. *M.* Deorum immortalium iudicia solent in scholis proferre de morte, nec vero ea fingere ipsi, sed Herodoto auctore aliisque pluribus. Primum Argiae sacerdotis Cleobis et Biton filii praedicantur. Nota fabula est. Cum enim illam ad sollemne et statum sacrificium curru vehi ius esset satis longe ab oppido ad fanum, morarenturque iumenta, tum iuvenes ii, quos modo nominavi, veste posita corpora oleo perunxerunt, ad iugum accesserunt. Ita sacerdos advecta in fanum, cum currus esset ductus a filiis, precata a dea dicitur, ut id illis praemii daret pro pietate, quod maxumum homini dari posset a deo; post epulatos cum matre adulescentis somno se dedisse, mane inventos esse mortuos. 114. Simili precatione Trophonius et Agamedes usi dicuntur; qui cum Apollini Delphis templum exaedificavissent, venerantes deum petiverunt mercedem non parvam quidem operis et laboris sui,— nihil certi, sed quod esset optumum homini. Quibus *Apollo se* id daturum ostendit post eius diei diem *tertium; qui* ut inluxit, mortui sunt reperti. Iudicavisse

deum dicunt, et eum quidem deum, cui reliqui di concessissent, ut praeter ceteros divinaret. **48.** Adfertur etiam de Sileno fabella quaedam; qui cum a Mida captus esset, hoc ei muneris pro sua missione dedisse scribitur: docuisse regem non nasci homini longe optimum esse, proximum autem quam primum mori. **115.** Qua est sententia in Cresphonte usus Euripides:

Nam nós decebat coétus celebrantís domum
Lugére, ubi esset dliquis in lucem éditus,
Humánae vitae vária reputantís mala;
At quí labores mórte finisset gravis,
Hunc ómni amicos laúde et laetitia éxsequi.

Simile quiddam est in Consolatione Crantoris; ait enim Terinaeum quendam Elysium, cum graviter filii mortem maereret, venisse in psychomantium quaerentem, quae fuisset tantae calamitatis causa; huic in tabellis tris huius modi versiculos datos:

Ignaris homines in vita mentibus errant;
Euthynous potitur fatorum numine leto.
Sic fuit utilius finiri ipsique tibique.

His et talibus auctoribus usi confirmant causam rebus a dis immortalibus iudicatam.

116. Alcidamas quidem, rhetor antiquus in primis nobilis, scripsit etiam laudationem mortis, quae constat ex enumeratione humanorum malorum. Cui rationes eae, quae exquisitius a philosophis colliguntur, defuerunt, ubertas orationis non defuit. Clarae vero mortes pro patria oppetitae non solum gloriosae rhetoribus, sed etiam beatae videri solent. Repetunt ab Erechtheo, cuius etiam filiae cupide *mortem* expetiverunt pro vita civium. *Codrum commemorant,* qui se in medios inmisit hostis

veste famulari, ne posset adgnosci, si esset ornatu regio, quod oraculum erat datum, si rex interfectus esset, victrices Athenas fore. Menoeceus non praetermittitur, qui item oraculo edito largitus est patriae suum sanguinem. Iphigenia Aulide duci se immolandam iubet, 'ut hostium eliciatur suo.'

49. Veniunt inde ad propiora. Harmodius in ore est et Aristogiton; Lacedaemonius Leonidas, Thebanus Epaminondas viget. Nostros non norunt, quos enumerare magnum est; ita sunt multi, quibus videmus optabilis mortes fuisse cum gloria.

117. Quae cum ita sint, magna tamen eloquentia est utendum atque ita velut superiore e loco contionandum, ut homines mortem vel optare incipiant vel certe timere desistant. Nam si supremus ille dies non extinctionem, sed commutationem adfert loci, quid optabilius? sin autem perimit ac delet omnino, quid melius quam in mediis vitae laboribus obdormiscere et ita coniventem somno consopiri sempiterno? Quod si fiat, melior Ennii quam Solonis oratio. Hic enim noster

> *Nemo me lacrimis decoret,* inquit, *nec funera fletu*
> *Faxit!*

At vero ille sapiens:

> *Mors mea ne careat lacrimis; linquamus amicis*
> *Maerorem, ut celebrent funera cum gemitu.*

118. Nos vero, si quid tale acciderit, ut a deo denuntiatum videatur, ut exeamus e vita, laeti et agentes gratias pareamus emittique nos e custodia et levari vinclis arbitremur, ut aut in aeternam et plane [in] nostram *domum remigremus* aut omni sensu molestiaque careamus; sin autem nihil denuntiabitur, eo tamen simus

animo, ut horribilem illum diem aliis, nobis faustum putemus nihilque in malis ducamus, quod sit vel a dis inmortalibus vel a natura parente omnium constitutum. Non enim temere nec fortuito sati et creati sumus, sed profecto fuit quaedam vis, quae generi consuleret humano nec id gigneret aut aleret, quod cum exanclavisset omnes labores, tum incideret in mortis malum sempiternum; portum potius paratum nobis et perfugium putemus. 119. Quo utinam velis passis pervehi liceat! Sin reflantibus ventis reiciemur, tamen eodem paulo tardius referamur necesse est. Quod autem omnibus necesse est, idne miserum esse uni potest? Habes epilogum, ne quid praetermissum aut relictum putes.

A. Ego vero; et quidem fecit etiam iste me epilogus firmiorem.

'Optime,' inquam; 'sed nunc quidem valetudini tribuamus aliquid, cras autem, et quot dies erimus in Tusculano, agamus haec et ea potissimum, quae levationem habeant aegritudinum, formidinum, cupiditatum, qui omni in philosophia est fructus uberrimus.'

TUSCULANARUM DISPUTATIONUM

LIBER SECUNDUS

[De Tolerando Dolore.]

1. 1. Neoptolemus quidem apud Ennium philosophari sibi ait necesse esse, sed paucis; nam omnino haud placere. Ego autem, Brute, necesse mihi quidem esse arbitror philosophari; nam quid possum, praesertim nihil agens, agere melius? sed non paucis, ut ille. Difficile est enim in philosophia pauca esse ei nota, cui non sint aut pleraque aut omnia. Nam nec pauca nisi e multis eligi possunt nec, qui pauca perceperit, non idem reliqua eodem studio persequetur. 2. Sed tamen in vita occupata atque, ut Neoptolemi tum erat, militari pauca ipsa multum saepe prosunt et ferunt fructus, si non tantos, quanti ex universa philosophia percipi possunt, tamen eos, quibus aliqua ex parte interdum aut cupiditate aut aegritudine aut metu liberemur; velut ex ea disputatione, quae mihi nuper habita est in Tusculano, magna videbatur mortis effecta contemptio, quae non minimum valet ad animum metu liberandum. Nam qui id, quod vitari non potest, metuit, is vivere animo quieto nullo modo *potest; sed qui,* non modo quia necesse est mori, verum *etiam quia nihil* habet mors, quod sit horrendum, mortem

non timet, magnum is sibi praesidium ad beatam vitam comparat.

3. Quamquam non sumus ignari multos studiose contra esse dicturos (quod vitare nullo modo potuimus, nisi nihil omnino scriberemus). Etenim si orationes, quas nos multitudinis iudicio probari volebamus (popularis est enim illa facultas, et effectus eloquentiae est audientium adprobatio) — sed si reperiebantur non nulli, qui nihil laudarent, nisi quod se imitari posse confiderent, quemque sperandi sibi, eundem bene dicendi finem proponerent et, cum obruerentur copia sententiarum atque verborum, ieiunitatem et famem se malle quam ubertatem et copiam dicerent (unde erat exortum genus Atticorum iis ipsis, qui id sequi se profitebantur, ignotum; qui iam conticuerunt, paene ab ipso foro inrisi), quid futurum putamus, cum adiutore populo, quo utebamur antea, nunc minime nos uti posse videamus? 4. Est enim philosophia paucis contenta iudicibus, multitudinem consulto ipsa fugiens eique ipsi et suspecta et invisa, ut, vel si quis universam velit vituperare, secundo id populo facere possit, vel si in eam, quam nos maxime sequimur, conetur invadere, magna habere possit auxilia a reliquorum philosophorum disciplinis. 2. Nos autem universae philosophiae vituperatoribus respondimus in Hortensio, pro Academia autem quae dicenda essent, satis accurate in Academicis quattuor libris explicata arbitramur; sed tamen tantum abest, ut scribi contra nos nolimus, ut id etiam maxime optemus. In ipsa enim Graecia philosophia tanto in honore numquam fuisset, nisi doctissimorum contentionibus dissensionibusque viguisset.

5. Quam ob *rem hortor* omnis, qui facere id possunt, *ut huius quoque* generis laudem iam languenti Grae-

ciae eripiant et transferant in hanc urbem, sicut reliquas omnis, quae quidem erant expetendae, studio atque industria sua maiores nostri transtulerunt. Atque oratorum quidem laus ita ducta ab humili venit ad summum, ut iam (quod natura fert in omnibus fere rebus) senescat brevique tempore ad nihilum ventura videatur. Philosophia nascatur Latinis quidem litteris ex his temporibus, eamque nos adiuvemus nosque ipsos redargui refellique patiamur — quod ii ferunt animo iniquo, qui certis quibusdam destinatisque sententiis quasi addicti et consecrati sunt eaque necessitate constricti, ut, etiam quae non probare soleant, ea cogantur constantiae causa defendere. Nos, qui sequimur probabilia nec ultra quam ad id, quod veri simile occurrit, progredi possumus, et refellere sine pertinacia et refelli sine iracundia parati sumus. 6. Quodsi haec studia traducta erunt ad nostros, ne bibliothecis quidem Graecis egebimus. In quibus multitudo infinita librorum propter eorum est multitudinem, qui scripserunt; eadem enim dicuntur a multis, ex quo libris omnia referserunt. Quod accidet etiam nostris, si ad haec studia plures confluxerint. Sed eos, si possumus, excitemus, qui liberaliter eruditi adhibita etiam disserendi elegantia ratione et via philosophentur.

3. 7. Est enim quoddam genus eorum, qui se philosophos appellari volunt, quorum dicuntur esse Latini sane multi libri; quos non contemno equidem, quippe quos numquam legerim; sed quia profitentur ipsi illi, qui eos scribunt, se neque distincte neque distribute neque eleganter neque ornate scribere, lectionem sine ulla *delectatione neglego*. Quid enim dicant et quid sentiant *ii, qui sunt ab ea* disciplina, nemo ne mediocriter quidem

doctus ignorat. Quam ob rem, quoniam, quem ad modum dicant, ipsi non laborant, cur legendi sint (nisi ipsi inter se, qui idem sentiunt) non intellego. 8. Nam, ut Platonem reliquosque Socraticos et deinceps eos, qui ab his profecti sunt, legunt omnes, etiam qui illa aut non adprobant aut non studiosissime consectantur, Epicurum autem et Metrodorum non fere praeter suos quisquam in manus sumit, sic hos Latinos ii soli legunt, qui illa recte dici putant. Nobis autem videtur, quicquid litteris mandetur, id commendari omnium eruditorum lectioni decere; nec, si id ipsi minus consequi possumus, idcirco minus [id] ita faciendum esse sentimus. 9. Itaque mihi semper Peripateticorum Academiaeque consuetudo de omnibus rebus in contrarias partis disserendi non ob eam causam solum placuit, quod aliter non posset, quid in quaque re veri simile esset, inveniri, sed etiam quod esset ea maxuma dicendi exercitatio. Qua princeps usus est Aristoteles, deinde eum qui secuti sunt.

Nostra autem memoria Philo, quem nos frequenter audivimus, instituit alio tempore rhetorum praecepta tradere, alio philosophorum; ad quam nos consuetudinem a familiaribus nostris adducti in Tusculano, quod datum est temporis nobis, in eo consumpsimus. Itaque cum ante meridiem dictioni operam dedissemus, sicut pridie feceramus, post meridiem in Academiam descendimus; in qua disputationem habitam non quasi narrantes exponimus, sed eisdem fere verbis, ut actum disputatumque est. Est igitur ambulantibus ad hunc modum sermo ille nobis institutus et a tali quodam ductus exordio:

4. 10. *A. Dici non* potest, quam sim hesterna disputa-

tione tua delectatus vel potius adiutus. Etsi enim mihi sum conscius numquam me nimis vitae cupidum fuisse, tamen interdum obiciebatur animo metus quidam et dolor cogitanti fore aliquando finem huius lucis et amissionem omnium vitae commodorum. Hoc genere molestiae sic, mihi crede, sum liberatus, ut nihil minus curandum putem.

11. *M.* Minime mirum id quidem. Nam efficit hoc philosophia: medetur animis, inanes sollicitudines detrahit, cupiditatibus liberat, pellit timores. Sed haec eius vis non idem potest apud omnis; tum valet multum, cum est idoneam conplexa naturam. 'Fortis' enim non modo 'fortuna adiuvat,' ut est in vetere proverbio, sed multo magis ratio, quae quibusdam quasi praeceptis confirmat vim fortitudinis. Te natura excelsum quendam videlicet et altum et humana despicientem genuit, itaque facile in animo forti contra mortem habita insedit oratio. Sed haec eadem num censes apud eos ipsos valere nisi admodum paucos, a quibus inventa, disputata, conscripta sunt? Quotus enim quisque philosophorum invenitur, qui sit ita moratus, ita animo ac vita constitutus, ut ratio postulat — qui disciplinam suam non ostentationem scientiae, sed legem vitae putet, qui obtemperet ipse sibi et decretis suis pareat! 12. Videre licet alios tanta levitate et iactatione, ut iis fuerit non didicisse melius, alios pecuniae cupidos, gloriae non nullos, multos libidinum servos, ut cum eorum vita mirabiliter pugnet oratio. Quod quidem mihi videtur esse turpissimum. Ut enim, si grammaticum se professus quispiam barbare loquatur, aut si absurde canat is, qui se haberi velit musicum, hoc turpior sit, quod in eo ipso *peccet, cuius* profitetur scientiam, sic philosophus in *vitae ratione peccans* hoc turpior est, quod in officio,

cuius magister esse vult, labitur artemque vitae professus delinquit in vita.

5. *A.* Nonne verendum est igitur, si est ita, ut dicis, ne philosophiam falsa gloria exornes? Quod est enim maius argumentum nihil eam prodesse, quam quosdam perfectos philosophos turpiter vivere?

13. *M.* Nullum vero id quidem argumentum est. Nam ut agri non omnes frugiferi sunt, qui coluntur, falsumque illud Accii:

Probae étsi in segetem sínt deteriorém datae
Frugés, tamen ipsae sudpte natura énitent,

sic animi non omnes culti fructum ferunt. Atque, ut in eodem simili verser, ut ager quamvis fertilis sine cultura fructuosus esse non potest, sic sine doctrina animus; ita est utraque res sine altera debilis. Cultura autem animi philosophia est; haec extrahit vitia radicitus et praeparat animos ad satus accipiendos eaque mandat iis et, ut ita dicam, serit, quae adulta fructus uberrimos ferant. Agamus igitur, ut coepimus. Dic, si vis, de quo disputari velis.

14. *A.* Dolorem existimo maxumum malorum omnium.

M. Etiamne maius quam dedecus?

A. Non audeo dicere id quidem, et me pudet tam cito de sententia esse deiectum.

M. Magis esset pudendum, si in sententia permaneres. Quid enim minus est te dignum, quam tibi peius quicquam videri dedecore, flagitio, turpitudine? quae ut effugias, quis est non modo recusandus, sed non ultro adpetendus, subeundus, excipiendus dolor?

A. Ita prorsus existimo. Quare ne sit sane summum malum dolor; malum certe est.

M. *Videsne igitur,* quantum breviter admonitus de *doloris terrore deieceris?*

15. *A.* Video plane, sed plus desidero.

M. Experiar equidem; sed magna res est, animoque mihi opus est non repugnante.

A. Habebis id quidem. Ut enim heri feci, sic nunc rationem, quo ea me cumque ducet, sequar.

6. *M.* Primum igitur de inbecillitate multorum et de variis disciplinis philosophorum loquar. Quorum princeps et auctoritate et antiquitate, Socraticus Aristippus, non dubitavit summum malum dolorem dicere. Deinde ad hanc enervatam muliebremque sententiam satis docilem se Epicurus praebuit. Hunc post Rhodius Hieronymus dolore vacare summum bonum dixit; tantum in dolore duxit mali. Ceteri praeter Zenonem, Aristonem, Pyrrhonem, idem fere, quod modo tu, malum illud quidem, sed alia peiora. 16. Ergo, id quod natura ipsa et quaedam generosa virtus statim respuit, ne scilicet dolorem summum malum diceres oppositoque dedecore sententia depellerere — in eo magistra vitae philosophia tot saecula permanet. Quod huic officium, quae laus, quod decus erit tanti, quod adipisci cum dolore corporis velit, qui dolorem summum malum sibi esse persuaserit? quam porro quis ignominiam, quam turpitudinem non pertulerit, ut effugiat dolorem, si id summum malum esse decreverit? quis autem non miser non modo tunc, cum premetur summis doloribus, si in his est summum malum, sed etiam cum sciet id sibi posse evenire — etsi quis est, cui non possit? Ita fit, ut omnino nemo esse possit beatus.

17. Metrodorus quidem perfecte eum beatum putat, cui corpus bene constitutum sit et exploratum ita semper fore. Quis autem est iste, cui id exploratum possit esse? 7. *Epicurus vero* ea dicit, ut mihi quidem risus captare

videatur. Adfirmat enim quodam loco, si uratur sapiens, si crucietur — exspectas fortasse, dum dicat: 'patietur, perferet, non succumbet' (magna mehercule laus et eo ipso, per quem iuravi, Hercule, digna!): sed Epicuro, homini aspero et duro, non est hoc satis; in Phalaridis tauro si erit, dicet: 'Quam suave est, quam hoc non curo!' Suave etiam? an parum est, si non amarum? At id quidem illi ipsi, qui dolorem malum esse negant, non solent dicere, cuiquam suave esse cruciari; asperum, difficile, odiosum, contra naturam dicunt, nec tamen malum. Hic, qui solum hoc malum dicit et malorum omnium extremum, sapientem censet id suave dicturum.

18. Ego a te non postulo, ut dolorem eisdem verbis adficias, quibus Epicurus, homo, ut scis, voluptarius. Ille dixerit sane idem in Phalaridis tauro, quod, si esset in lectulo; ego tantam vim non tribuo sapientiae contra dolorem. Si fortis est in perferendo, officio satis est; ut laetetur etiam, non postulo. Tristis enim res est sine dubio, aspera, amara, inimica naturae, ad patiendum tolerandumque difficilis.

19. Aspice Philoctetam, cui concedendum est gementi; ipsum enim Herculem viderat in Oeta magnitudine dolorum eiulantem. Nihil igitur hunc virum sagittae, quas ab Hercule acceperat, tum consolantur, cum

E víperino mórsu venae víscerum
Venéno inbutae taétros cruciatús cient.

Itaque exclamat auxilium expetens, mori cupiens:

Heu, quí salsis fluctíbus mandet
Me ex súblimo vertíce saxi!
Iam iam dbsumor, conficit animam
Vis vólneris, ulceris aéstus.

Difficile dictu videtur eum non in malo esse, et magno quidem, qui ita clamare cogatur. **8. 20.** Sed videamus Herculem ipsum, qui tum dolore frangebatur, cum inmortalitatem ipsa morte quaerebat. Quas hic voces apud Sophoclem in Trachiniis edit! cui cum Deianira sanguine Centauri tinctam tunicam induisset inhaesissetque ea visceribus, ait ille:

O múlta dictu grávia, perpessu áspera,
Quae córpore exancláta atque animo pértuli!
Nec míhi Iunonis térror inplacábilis
Nec tántum invexit trístis Eurystheús mali,
Quantum úna vaecors Oénei partu édita.
Haec me ínretivit véste furiali ínscium,
Quae látere inhaerens mórsu lacerat víscera
Urguénsque graviter púlmonum haurit spíritus;
Iam décolorem sánguinem omnem exórbuit.
Sic córpus clade horríbili absumptum éxtabuit,
Ipse ínligatus péste interimor téxtili.
Hos nón hostilis déxtra, non Terra édita
Molés Gigantum, nón biformato ímpetu
Centaúrus ictus córpori infixít meo,
Non Gráia vis, non bárbara ulla immánitas,
Non saéva terris géns relegata últimis,
Quas péragrans undique ómnem ecferitatem éxpuli,
Sed féminae vir féminea interimór manu.
9. *O náte! vere hoc nómen usurpá patri;*
Ne me óccidentem mátris superet cáritas.
Huc árripe ad me mánibus abstractám piis;
Iam cérnam, mene an íllam potiorém putes.
21. *Perge, aúde, nate,* inlácrima *patris* ***péstibus,***
Miserére! Gentes nóstras flebunt miserias.

Heu! vírginalem me óre ploratum édere,
Quem vídit nemo ulli íngemescentém malo!
Sic féminata vírtus adflicta óccidit.
Accéde, nate, adsíste, miserandum áspice
Evísceratum córpus laceratúm patris!
Vidéte, cuncti, túque, caelestúm sator,
Iace, óbsecro, in me vím coruscam fúlminis!
Nunc, núnc dolorum anxíferi torquent vértices,
Nunc sérpit ardor. O ánte victricés manus,
22. *O péctora, o terga, ó lacertorúm tori!*
Vestróne pressu quóndam Nemeaeús leo
Frendéns efflavit gráviter extremum hálitum?
Haec déxtra Lernam taétra mactata éxcetra
Pacávit? haec bicórporem adflixít manum?
Erymánthiam haec vastíficam abiecit béluam?
Haec é Tartarea ténebrica abstractúm plaga
Tricípitem eduxit Hýdra generatúm canem?
Haec ínteremit tórtu multiplicábili
Dracónem auriferam obtútu adservantem árborem?
Multa ália victrix nóstra lustravít manus,
Nec quísquam e nostris spólia cepit laúdibus.

Possumusne nos contemnere dolorem, cum ipsum Herculem tam intoleranter dolere videamus?

10. 23. Veniat Aeschylus, non poëta solum, sed etiam Pythagoreus; sic enim accepimus. Quo modo fert apud eum Prometheus dolorem, quem excipit ob furtum Lemnium!

Unde ígnis cluet mortálibus clam
Divísus; eum doctús Prometheus
Clepsísse dolo poenásque Iovi
Fato éxpendisse suprémo.

Has igitur poenas pendens adfixus ad Caucasum dicit haec:

Titánum suboles, sócia nostri sánguinis,
Generáta Caelo, aspícite religatum ásperis
Vinctúmque saxis, návem ut horrisonó freto
Noctém paventes tímidi adnectunt návitae.
Satúrnius me síc infixit Iúppiter,
Iovísque numen Múlciberi ascivít manus.
Hos ílle cuneos fábrica crudeli ínserens
Perrúpit artus; quá miser sollértia
Transvérberatus cástrum hoc Furiarum íncolo.
24. *Iam tértio me quóque funestó die*
Tristi ádvolatu adúncis lacerans únguibus
Iovís satelles pástu dilaniát fero.
Tum iécore opimo fárta et satiata ádfatim
Clangórem fundit vástum et sublime ávolans
Pinnáta cauda nóstrum adulat sánguinem.
Cum véro adesum inflátu renovatúmst iecur,
Tum rúrsum taetros ávida se ad pastús refert.
Sic hánc custodem maésti cruciatús alo,
Quae mé perenni vívum foedat míseria.
Namque, út videtis, vínclis constrictús Iovis
Arcére nequeo díram volucrem a péctore.
25. *Sic me ípse viduus péstes excipio ánxias*
Amóre mortis términum anquiréns mali,
Sed lónge a leto númine aspellór Iovis.
Atque haéc vetusta saéclis glomerata hórridis
Luctífica clades nóstro infixa est córpori,
E quó liquatae sólis ardore éxcidunt
Guttaé, quae saxa adsídue instillant Caúcasi.

Vix igitur posse videmur ita adfectum non miserum *dicere et, si* hunc miserum, certe dolorem malum.

11. 26. *A.* Tu quidem adhuc meam causam agis; sed hoc mox videro; interea, unde isti versus? non enim adgnosco.

M. Dicam hercle; etenim recte requiris. Videsne abundare me otio?

A. Quid tum?

M. Fuisti saepe, credo, cum Athenis esses, in scholis philosophorum.

A. Vero, ac libenter quidem.

M. Animadvertebas igitur, etsi tum nemo erat admodum copiosus, verum tamen versus ab iis admisceri orationi.

A. Ac multos quidem a Dionysio Stoico.

M. Probe dicis. Sed is quasi dictata, nullo dilectu, nulla elegantia, Philo et proprio numero et lecta poëmata et loco adiungebat. Itaque postquam adamavi hanc quasi senilem declamationem, studiose equidem utor nostris poëtis; sed sicubi illi defecerunt, verti etiam multa de Graecis, ne quo ornamento in hoc genere disputationis careret Latina oratio.

27. Sed videsne, poëtae quid mali adferant? Lamentantis inducunt fortissimos viros, molliunt animos nostros, ita sunt deinde dulces, ut non legantur modo, sed etiam ediscantur. Sic ad malam domesticam disciplinam vitamque umbratilem et delicatam cum accesserunt etiam poëtae, nervos omnis virtutis elidunt. Recte igitur a Platone eiciuntur ex ea civitate, quam finxit ille, cum optimos mores et optimum rei publicae statum exquireret. At vero nos, docti scilicet a Graecia, haec a pueritia legimus et ediscimus, hanc eruditionem liberalem *et doctrinam putamus*. **12.** 28. Sed quid poëtis *irascimur? Virtutis* magistri, philosophi, inventi sunt,

qui summum malum dolorem dicerent. At tu, adulescens, cum id tibi paulo ante dixisses videri, rogatus a me, etiamne maius quam dedecus, verbo de sententia destitisti. Roga hoc idem Epicurum; maius dicet esse malum mediocrem dolorem quam maxumum dedecus; in ipso enim dedecore mali nihil esse, nisi sequantur dolores. Quis igitur Epicurum sequitur dolor, cum hoc ipsum dicit, summum malum esse dolorem — quo dedecus maius a philosopho nullum expecto? Quare satis mihi dedisti, cum respondisti maius tibi videri malum dedecus quam dolorem. Hoc ipsum enim si tenebis, intelleges, quam sit obsistendum dolori. Nec tam quaerendum est, dolor malumne sit, quam firmandus animus ad dolorem ferendum.

29. Concludunt ratiunculas Stoici, cur non sit malum, quasi de verbo, non de re laboretur. Quid me decipis, Zeno? Nam cum id, quod mihi horribile videtur, tu omnino malum negas esse, capior et scire cupio, quo modo id, quod ego miserrimum existimem, ne malum quidem sit. 'Nihil est,' inquit, 'malum, nisi quod turpe atque vitiosum est.' Ad ineptias redis. Illud enim, quod me angebat, non eximis. Scio dolorem non esse nequitiam; desine id me docere, hoc doce, doleam necne doleam, nihil interesse. 'Numquam quicquam,' inquit, 'ad beate quidem vivendum, quod est in una virtute positum; sed est tamen reiciendum.' Cur? 'Asperum est, contra naturam, difficile perpessu, triste, durum.' 13. 30. Haec est copia verborum, quod omnes uno verbo 'malum' appellamus, id tot modis posse dicere. Definis tu mihi, non tollis dolorem, cum dicis *asperum, contra* naturam, vix quod ferri tolerarique *possit* — *nec* mentiris; sed re succumbere non oportebat.

verbis gloriantem. 'Nihil bonum, nisi quod honestum, nihil malum, nisi quod turpe.' Optare hoc quidem est, non docere.

Illud et melius et verius, omnia, quae natura aspernetur, in malis esse, quae adsciscat, in bonis. Hoc posito et verborum concertatione sublata tantum tamen excellet illud, quod recte amplexantur isti, — quod honestum, quod rectum, quod decorum appellamus, quod idem interdum virtutis nomine amplectimur, — ut omnia praeterea, quae bona corporis et fortunae putantur, perexigua et minuta videantur, nec malum ullum, ne si in unum locum quidem conlata omnia sint, cum turpitudinis malo comparanda. 31. Quare si, ut initio concessisti, turpitudo peius est quam dolor, nihil est plane dolor. Nam dum tibi turpe nec dignum viro videbitur gemere, eiulare, lamentari, frangi, debilitari dolore, dum honestas, dum dignitas, dum decus aderit, tuque in ea intuens te continebis, cedet profecto virtuti dolor et animi inductione languescet.

Aut enim nulla virtus est aut contemnendus omnis dolor. Prudentiamne vis esse, sine qua ne intellegi quidem ulla virtus potest? Quid ergo? ea patieturne te quicquam facere nihil proficientem et frustra laborantem, an temperantia sinet te inmoderate facere quicquam, an coli iustitia poterit ab homine propter vim doloris enuntiante commissa, prodente conscios, multa officia relinquente? 32. Quid? fortitudini comitibusque eius, magnitudini animi, gravitati, patientiae, rerum humanarum despicientiae quo modo respondebis? adflictusne et iacens et lamentabili voce deplorans audies: 'O virum fortem!'? Te *vero ita adfectum ne virum quidem quisquam dixerit. Amittenda* igitur fortitudo est aut

sepeliendus dolor. **14.** Ecquid scis igitur, si quid de Corinthiis tuis amiseris, posse habere te reliquam supellectilem salvam, virtutem autem si unam amiseris — etsi amitti non potest virtus; — sed si unam confessus eris te non habere, nullam esse te habiturum? **33.** Num igitur fortem virum, num magno animo, num patientem, num gravem, num humana contemnentem potes dicere aut Philoctetam illum —? a te enim malo discedere; sed ille certe non fortis, qui iacet

in tecto úmido,
Quod éiulatu, quéstu, gemitu, frémitibus
Resonándo mutum flébilis vocés refert.

Non ego dolorem dolorem esse nego (cur enim fortitudo desideraretur?), sed eum opprimi dico patientia, si modo est aliqua patientia; si nulla est, quid exornamus philosophiam aut quid eius nomine gloriosi sumus? Pungit dolor, vel fodiat sane; si nudus es, da iugulum; sin tectus 'Volcaniis armis,' id est fortitudine, resiste; haec enim te, nisi ita facies, custos dignitatis relinquet et deseret. **34.** Cretum quidem leges, quas sive Iuppiter sive Minos sanxit de Iovis quidem sententia, ut poëtae ferunt, itemque Lycurgi, laboribus erudiunt iuventutem, venando currendo, esuriendo sitiendo, algendo aestuando. Spartae vero pueri ad aram sic verberibus accipiuntur,

Ut múltus e viscéribus sanguis éxeat,

non numquam etiam, ut, cum ibi essem, audiebam, ad necem; quorum non modo nemo exclamavit umquam, sed ne ingemuit quidem. Quid ergo? hoc pueri *possunt,* viri non poterunt? et mos valet, ratio non *valebit?*

15. 35. Interest aliquid inter laborem et dolorem. Sunt finitima omnino, sed tamen differt aliquid. Labor est functio quaedam vel animi vel corporis gravioris operis et muneris, dolor autem motus asper in corpore alienus a sensibus. Haec duo Graeci illi, quorum copiosior est lingua quam nostra, uno nomine appellant. Itaque industrios homines illi studiosos vel potius amantis doloris appellant, nos commodius laboriosos; aliud est enim laborare, aliud dolere. O verborum inops interdum, quibus abundare te semper putas, Graecia! Aliud, inquam, est dolere, aliud laborare. Cum varices secabantur C. Mario, dolebat; cum aestu magno ducebat agmen, laborabat. Est inter haec quaedam tamen similitudo; consuetudo enim laborum perpessionem dolorum efficit faciliorem. 36. Itaque illi, qui Graeciae formam rerum publicarum dederunt, corpora iuvenum firmari labore voluerunt. Quod Spartiatae etiam in feminas transtulerunt, quae ceteris in urbibus mollissimo cultu 'parietum umbris occuluntur.' Illi autem voluerunt nihil horum simile esse

apúd Lacaenas vírgines,
Quibus mágis palaestra, Euróta, sol, pulvis, labor,
Militia studio est quám fertilitas bárbara.

Ergo his laboriosis exercitationibus et dolor intercurrit non numquam,—impelluntur, feriuntur, abiciuntur, cadunt, et ipse labor quasi callum quoddam obducit dolori.

16. 37. Militiam vero — nostram dico, non Spartiatarum, quorum procedit agmen ad tibiam, nec adhibetur ulla sine anapaestis pedibus hortatio — nostri exercitus *primum unde nomen* habeant, vides; deinde qui labor,

quantus agminis, ferre plus dimidiati mensis cibaria, ferre si quid ad usum velint, ferre vallum; nam scutum, gladium, galeam in onere nostri milites non plus numerant quam umeros, lacertos, manus. Arma enim membra militis esse dicunt; quae quidem ita geruntur apte, ut, si usus ferat, abiectis oneribus expeditis armis ut membris pugnare possint. Quid exercitatio legionum? quid ille cursus, concursus, clamor? quanti laboris est! Ex hoc ille animus in proeliis paratus ad volnera. Adduc pari animo inexercitatum militem, mulier videbitur. **38.** Cur tantum interest inter novum et veterem exercitum, quantum experti sumus? Aetas tironum plerumque melior, sed ferre laborem, contemnere volnus consuetudo docet. Quin etiam videmus ex acie efferri saepe saucios, et quidem rudem illum et inexercitatum quamvis levi ictu ploratus turpissimos edere. At vero ille exercitatus et vetus ob eamque rem fortior medicum modo requirens, a quo obligetur

O Pátricoles, inquit, *ad vós adveniens aúxilium et vestrás manus*
Petó, prius quam oppetó malam pestem mándatam hostilí manu
(*Neque sánguis ullo pótis est pacto prófluens consístere*),
Si quí sapientiá magis vestra mórs devitarí potest.
Namque Aésculapi líberorum saúcii opplent pórticus;
Non pótis accedi.

17. 39. Certe Eurypylus hic quidem est. Hominem exercitum! Ubi tantum luctus continuatur, vide quam *non flebiliter* respondeat, rationem etiam adferat, cur *aequo animo* sibi ferendum sit:

Qui álteri exitiúm parat,
Eum scíre oportet sibi paratam péstem ut participét parem.

Abducet Patricoles, credo, ut conlocet in cubili, ut volnus obliget. Siquidem homo esset; sed nihil vidi minus. Quaerit enim, quid actum sit:

P. Elóquere, eloquere, rés Argivum proélio ut se sústinet.
E. Non pótis ecfari tántum dictis, quántum factis súppetit Labóris.

(Quiesce igitur et volnus adliga. Etiamsi Eurypylus posset, non posset Aesopus)

. . . ubi fortuna Héctoris
Nostram ácrem aciem inclinátam . . .

et cetera explicat in dolore. Sic est enim intemperans militaris in forti viro gloria. Ergo haec veteranus miles facere poterit, doctus vir sapiensque non poterit? Ille vero melius, ac non paulo quidem. 40. Sed adhuc de consuetudine exercitationis loquor, nondum de ratione et sapientia. Aniculae saepe inediam biduum aut triduum ferunt. Subduc cibum unum diem athletae, Iovem Olympium, eum ipsum, cui se exercebit, implorabit, ferre non posse se clamabit. Consuetudinis magna vis est. Pernoctant venatores in nive in montibus, uri se patiuntur Indi, pugiles caestibus contusi ne ingemescunt quidem. 41. Sed quid hos, quibus Olympiorum victoria consulatus ille antiquus videtur? gladiatores, aut perditi homines aut barbari, quas plagas perferunt! quo modo illi, qui bene instituti sunt, accipere plagam malunt quam turpiter vitare! quam saepe apparet nihil eos malle quam vel domino satis facere vel populo! mittunt etiam volneribus confecti *ad dominos*, qui quaerant, quid velint, si *satis iis factum sit*, se velle decumbere. Quis mediocris

gladiator ingemuit, quis vultum mutavit umquam? quis non modo stetit, verum etiam decubuit turpiter? quis, cum decubuisset, ferrum recipere iussus collum contraxit? Tantum exercitatio, meditatio, consuetudo valet. Ergo hoc poterit

Samnis, spurcus homo, vita illa dignus locoque,

vir natus ad gloriam ullam partem animi tam mollem habebit, quam non meditatione et ratione conroboret? Crudele gladiatorum spectaculum et inhumanum non nullis videri solet, et haud scio an ita sit, ut nunc fit. Cum vero sontes ferro depugnabant, auribus fortasse multae, oculis quidem nulla poterat esse fortior contra dolorem et mortem disciplina.

18. 42. De exercitatione et consuetudine et commentatione dixi; age, sis, nunc de ratione videamus, nisi quid vis ad haec.

A. Egone ut te interpellem? ne hoc quidem vellem; ita me ad credendum tua ducit oratio.

M. Sitne igitur malum dolere necne, Stoici viderint, qui contortulis quibusdam et minutis conclusiunculis nec ad sensus permanantibus effici volunt non esse malum dolorem. Ego illud, quicquid sit, tantum esse, quantum videatur, non puto, falsaque eius visione et specie moveri homines dico vehementius, doloremque omnem esse tolerabilem. Unde igitur ordiar? an eadem breviter attingam, quae modo dixi, quo facilius oratio progredi possit longius? 43. Inter omnis igitur hoc constat, nec doctos homines solum, sed etiam indoctos, virorum esse fortium et magnanimorum et patientium et humana vincentium *toleranter* dolorem pati; nec vero quisquam fuit, *qui eum, qui* ita pateretur, non laudandum putaret.

Quod ergo et postulatur a fortibus et laudatur, cum fit, id aut extimescere veniens aut non ferre praesens nonne turpe est? Atquin vide, ne, cum omnes rectae animi adfectiones virtutes appellentur, non sit hoc proprium nomen omnium, sed ab ea, quae una ceteris excellebat, omnes nominatae sint. Appellata est enim ex viro virtus; viri autem propria maxime est fortitudo, cuius munera duo sunt maxima, mortis dolorisque contemptio. Utendum est igitur his, si virtutis compotes, vel potius si viri volumus esse, quoniam a viris virtus nomen est mutuata. Quaeres fortasse, quo modo, et recte; talem enim medicinam philosophia profitetur.

19. 44. Venit Epicurus, homo minime malus vel potius vir optimus; tantum monet, quantum intellegit. 'Neglege,' inquit, 'dolorem.' Quis hoc dicit? Idem, qui dolorem summum malum. Vix satis constanter. Audiamus. 'Si summus dolor est,' inquit, 'brevem necesse est esse.'

Iteradum eadem ista mihi!

non enim satis intellego, quid summum dicas esse, quid breve. 'Summum, quo nihil sit superius; breve, quo nihil brevius. Contemno magnitudinem doloris, a qua me brevitas temporis vindicabit ante paene, quam venerit.' Sed si est tantus dolor, quantus Philoctetae? 'Bene; plane magnus mihi quidem videtur, sed tamen non summus; nihil enim dolet nisi pes; possunt oculi, potest caput, latera, pulmones, possunt omnia. Longe igitur abest a summo dolore. Ergo,' inquit, 'dolor diuturnus habet laetitiae plus quam molestiae.' **45.** Nunc ego non possum tantum hominem nihil sapere dicere, sed nos ab eo derideri puto. Ego summum dolorem ('summum' autem *dico, etiamsi decem atomis* est maior alius) non continuo

esse dico brevem multosque possum bonos viros nominare, qui complures annos doloribus podagrae crucientur maximis. Sed homo catus numquam terminat nec magnitudinis nec diuturnitatis modum, ut sciam, quid summum dicat in dolore, quid breve in tempore. Omittamus hunc igitur nihil prorsus dicentem cogamusque confiteri non esse ab eo doloris remedia quaerenda, qui dolorem malorum omnium maxumum dixerit, quamvis idem forticulum se in torminibus et in stranguria sua praebeat. Aliunde igitur est quaerenda medicina, et maxime quidem, si, quid maxime consentaneum sit, quaerimus, ab iis, quibus, quod honestum sit, summum bonum, quod turpe, summum videtur malum. His tu praesentibus gemere et iactare te non audebis profecto; loquetur enim eorum voce Virtus ipsa tecum: **20. 46.** 'Tune, cum pueros Lacedaemone, adulescentis Olympiae, barbaros in harena videris excipientis gravissimas plagas et ferentis silentio, si te forte dolor aliquis pervellerit, exclamabis ut mulier, non constanter et sedate feres?' — Fieri non potest; natura non patitur. — Audio. Pueri ferunt gloria ducti, ferunt pudore alii, multi metu, et tamen veremur, ut hoc, quod a tam multis et quod tot locis perferatur, natura patiatur? Illa vero non modo patitur, verum etiam postulat; nihil enim habet praestantius, nihil, quod magis expetat quam honestatem, quam laudem, quam dignitatem, quam decus. Hisce ego pluribus nominibus unam rem declarari volo, sed utor, ut quam maxime significem, pluribus. Volo autem dicere illud homini longe optumum esse, quod ipsum sit optandum per se, a virtute profectum vel in ipsa virtute situm, sua sponte laudabile, quod quidem *citius* dixerim solum quam non summum bonum. *Atque ut haec* de honesto, sic de turpi contraria, nihil tam

taetrum, nihil tam aspernandum, nihil homine indignius.

47. Quod si tibi persuasum est (principio enim dixisti plus in dedecore mali tibi videri quam in dolore), reliquum est, ut tute tibi imperes — quamquam hoc nescio quo modo dicitur, quasi duo simus, ut alter imperet, alter pareat; non inscite tamen dicitur. 21. Est enim animus in partis tributus duas, quarum altera rationis est particeps, altera expers. Cum igitur praecipitur, ut nobismet ipsis imperemus, hoc praecipitur, ut ratio coërceat temeritatem. Est in animis omnium fere natura molle quiddam, demissum, humile, enervatum quodam modo et languidum. Si nihil esset aliud, nihil esset homine deformius; sed praesto est domina omnium et regina ratio, quae conixa per se et progressa longius fit perfecta virtus. Haec ut imperet illi parti animi, quae oboedire debet, id videndum est viro. 48. 'Quonam modo?' inquies. Vel ut dominus servo vel ut imperator militi vel ut parens filio. Si turpissime se illa pars animi geret, quam dixi esse mollem, si se lamentis muliebriter lacrimisque dedet, vinciatur et constringatur amicorum propinquorumque custodiis; saepe enim vidimus fractos pudore, qui ratione nulla vincerentur. Ergo hos quidem ut famulos vinclis prope atque custodia, qui autem erunt firmiores nec tamen robustissimi, hos admonitu oportebit ut bonos milites revocatos dignitatem tueri. Non nimis in Niptris ille sapientissimus Graeciae saucius lamentatur, vel modice potius:

Pedetémptim, inquit, *et sedató nisu,*
Ne súccussu arripiát maior
Dolor.

49. *Pacuvius hoc melius* quam Sophocles (apud illum *enim perquam flebiliter* Ulixes lamentatur in volnere):

tamen huic leviter gementi illi ipsi, qui ferunt saucium, personae gravitatem intuentes non dubitant dicere:

Tu quóque, Ulixes, (quamquám graviter
Cernímus ictum), nimis paéne animo es
Molli, qui consuetús in armis
Aevom ágere .....

Intellegit poëta prudens ferendi doloris consuetudinem esse non contemnendam magistram. 50. Atque ille non inmoderate magno in dolore:

Retinéte, tenete! opprímit ulcus;
Nudáte! heu miserum me! éxcrucior.

Incipit labi, deinde ilico desinit:

Operíte, abscedite, idm tandem
Mittíte; nam attrectatu ét quassu
Saevum ámplificatis dolórem.

Videsne, ut obmutuerit (non sedatus corporis, sed) castigatus animi dolor? Itaque in extremis Niptris alios quoque obiurgat, idque moriens:

Cónqueri fortúnam adversam, nón lamentarí decet.
Íd viri est officium, fletus múliebri ingenio ádditus.

Huius animi pars illa mollior rationi sic paruit, ut severo imperatori miles pudens. 22. 51. In quo vero erit perfecta sapientia (quem adhuc nos quidem vidimus neminem, sed philosophorum sententiis, qualis hic futurus sit, si modo aliquando fuerit, exponitur), is igitur sive ea ratio, quae erit in eo perfecta atque absoluta, sic illi parti imperabit inferiori, ut iustus parens probis filiis; nutu, quod volet, conficiet, nullo labore, nulla molestia. Eriget *ipse se, suscitabit,* instruet, armabit, ut tamquam hosti *sic obsistat* dolori. Quae sunt ista arma? Contentio,

confirmatio sermoque intumus, cum ipse secum: 'Cave turpe quicquam, languidum, non virile.'

52. Obversentur species honestae animo; Zeno proponatur Eleates, qui perpessus est omnia potius quam conscios delendae tyrannidis indicaret; de Anaxarcho Democritio cogitetur, qui cum Cypri in manus Timocreontis regis incidisset, nullum genus supplicii deprecatus est neque recusavit. Calanus Indus, indoctus ac barbarus, in radicibus Caucasi natus, sua voluntate vivus combustus est. Nos, si pes condoluit, si dens [sed fac totum dolere corpus], ferre non possumus. Opinio est enim quaedam effeminata ac levis, nec in dolore magis quam eadem in voluptate; qua cum liquescimus fluimusque mollitia, apis aculeum sine clamore ferre non possumus. 53. At vero C. Marius, rusticanus vir, sed plane vir, cum secaretur, ut supra dixi, principio vetuit se alligari, nec quisquam ante Marium solutus dicitur esse sectus. (Cur ergo postea alii? Valuit auctoritas. Videsne igitur opinionis esse, non naturae malum?) Et tamen fuisse acrem morsum doloris idem Marius ostendit; crus enim alterum non praebuit. Ita et tulit dolorem ut vir, et ut homo maiorem ferre sine causa necessaria noluit. Totum igitur in eo est, ut tibi imperes. Ostendi autem, quod esset imperandi genus.

Atque haec cogitatio, quid patientia, quid fortitudine, quid magnitudine animi dignissimum sit, non solum animum comprimit, sed ipsum etiam dolorem nescio quo pacto mitiorem facit. 23. 54. Ut enim fit in proelio, ut ignavus miles ac timidus, simul ac viderit hostem, abiecto scuto fugiat, quantum possit, ob eamque causam pereat non numquam etiam integro corpore, cum ei, qui steterit, *nihil tale evenerit, sic,* qui doloris speciem ferre non

possunt, abiciunt se atque ita adflicti et exanimati iacent; qui autem restiterunt, discedunt saepissime superiores. Sunt enim quaedam animi similitudines cum corpore. Ut onera contentis corporibus facilius feruntur, remissis opprimunt, simillime animus intentione sua depellit pressum omnem ponderum, remissione autem sic urgetur, ut se nequeat extollere. Et, si verum quaerimus, in omnibus officiis persequendis animi est adhibenda contentio; ea est sola officii tamquam custodia.

55. Sed hoc idem in dolore maxume est providendum, ne quid abiecte, ne quid timide, ne quid ignave, ne quid serviliter muliebriterve faciamus; in primisque refutetur ac reiciatur Philocteteus ille clamor. Ingemescere non numquam viro concessum est, idque raro, eiulatus ne muli-eri quidem. Et hic nimirum est fletus, quem duodecim tabulae in funeribus adhiberi vetuerunt. 56. Nec vero umquam ne ingemescit quidem vir fortis ac sapiens, nisi forte ut se intendat ad firmitatem, ut in stadio cursores exclamant, quam maxime possunt. Faciunt idem, cum exercentur, athletae; pugiles vero, etiam cum feriunt adversarium, in iactandis caestibus ingemescunt, non quod doleant animove succumbant, sed quia profundenda voce omne corpus intenditur venitque plaga vehementior. 24. Quid? qui volunt exclamare maius, num satis habent latera, fauces, linguam intendere, e quibus eici vocem et fundi videmus? Toto corpore atque omnibus ungulis, ut dicitur, contentioni vocis adserviunt. 57. Genu mehercule M. Antonium vidi, cum contente pro se ipse lege Varia diceret, terram tangere. Ut enim ballistae lapidum et reliqua tormenta telorum eo graviores emissiones habent, *quo sunt contenta* atque adducta vehementius, sic vox, *sic cursus, sic plaga* hoc gravior, quo est missa contentius.

Cuius contentionis cum tanta vis sit, si gemitus in dolore ad confirmandum animum valebit, utemur; sin erit ille gemitus elamentabilis, si inbecillus, si abiectus, si flebilis, ei qui se dederit, vix eum virum dixerim. Qui quidem gemitus si levationis aliquid adferret, tamen videremus, quid esset fortis et animosi viri; cum vero nihil imminuat doloris, cur frustra turpes esse volumus? Quid est enim fletu muliebri viro turpius? **58.** Atque hoc praeceptum, quod de dolore datur, patet latius. Omnibus enim rebus, non solum dolori, simili contentione animi resistendum est. Ira exardescit, libido concitatur; in eandem arcem confugiendum est, eadem sunt arma sumenda. Sed quoniam de dolore loquimur, illa omittamus.

Ad ferendum igitur dolorem placide atque sedate plurimum proficit toto pectore, ut dicitur, cogitare, quam id honestum sit. Sumus enim natura, ut ante dixi (dicendum est enim saepius), studiosissimi adpetentissimique honestatis; cuius si quasi lumen aliquod aspeximus, nihil est, quod, ut eo potiamur, non parati simus et ferre et perpeti. Ex hoc cursu atque impetu animorum ad veram laudem atque honestatem illa pericula adeuntur in proeliis; non sentiunt viri fortes in acie volnera, vel sentiunt, sed mori malunt quam tantum modo de dignitatis gradu demoveri. **59.** Fulgentis gladios hostium videbant Decii, cum in aciem eorum inruebant. His levabat omnem volnerum metum nobilitas mortis et gloria. Num tum ingemuisse Epaminondam putas, cum una cum sanguine vitam effluere sentiret? Imperantem enim patriam Lacedaemoniis relinquebat, quam acceperat servientem. Haec sunt solacia, haec fomenta summorum dolorum.

25. 60. *Dices:* 'quid in pace, quid domi, quid in lectulo?' *Ad philosophos* me revocas, qui in aciem non saepe

prodeunt. E quibus homo sane levis, Heracleotes Dionysius, cum a Zenone fortis esse didicisset, a dolore dedoctus est. Nam cum ex renibus laboraret, ipso in eiulatu clamitabat falsa esse illa, quae antea de dolore ipse sensisset. Quem cum Cleanthes condiscipulus rogaret, quaenam ratio eum de sententia deduxisset, respondit: 'Quia, si, cum tantum operae philosophiae dedissem, dolorem tamen ferre non possem, satis esset argumenti malum esse dolorem. Plurimos autem annos in philosophia consumpsi nec ferre possum; malum est igitur dolor.' Tum Cleanthem, cum pede terram percussisset, versum ex Epigonis ferunt dixisse:

Audisne haec, Amphiarăë sub terram dŏdite?

Zenonem significabat, a quo illum degenerare dolebat.

61. At non noster Posidonius; quem et ipse saepe vidi et id dicam, quod solebat narrare Pompeius, se, cum Rhodum venisset decedens ex Syria, audire voluisse Posidonium; sed cum audisset eum graviter esse aegrum, quod vehementer eius artus laborarent, voluisse tamen nobilissimum philosophum visere; quem ut vidisset et salutavisset honorificisque verbis prosecutus esset molesteque se dixisset ferre, quod eum non posset audire, at ille: 'Tu vero,' inquit, 'potes, nec committam, ut dolor corporis efficiat, ut frustra tantus vir ad me venerit.' Itaque narrabat eum graviter et copiose de hoc ipso, nihil esse bonum, nisi quod esset honestum, cubantem disputavisse, cumque quasi faces ei doloris admoverentur, saepe dixisse: 'Nihil agis, dolor! quamvis sis molestus, numquam te esse confitebor malum.'

26. *62.* *Omninoque* omnes clari et nobilitati labores *contemnendo dolore* fiunt etiam tolerabiles. Videmusne,

apud quos eorum ludorum, qui gymnici nominantur, magnus honos sit, nullum ab iis, qui in id certamen descendant, devitari dolorem? apud quos autem venandi et equitandi laus viget, qui hanc petessunt, nullum fugiunt dolorem. Quid de nostris ambitionibus, quid de cupiditate honorum loquar? quae flamma est, per quam non cucurrerint ii, qui haec olim punctis singulis colligebant? Itaque semper Africanus Socraticum Xenophontem in manibus habebat, cuius in primis laudabat illud, quod diceret eosdem labores non aeque gravis esse imperatori et militi, quod ipse honos laborem leviorem faceret imperatorium.

63. Sed tamen hoc evenit, ut in volgus insipientium opinio valeat honestatis, cum ipsam videre non possint. Itaque fama et multitudinis iudicio moventur, cum id honestum putent, quod a plerisque laudetur. Te autem, si in oculis sis multitudinis, tamen eius iudicio stare nolim nec, quod illa putet, idem putare pulcherrimum. Tuo tibi iudicio est utendum; tibi si recta probanti placebis, tum non modo tete viceris, quod paulo ante praecipiebam, sed omnis et omnia. 64. Hoc igitur tibi propone, amplitudinem animi et quasi quandam exaggerationem quam altissimam animi, quae maxime eminet contemnendis et despiciendis doloribus, unam esse omnium rem pulcherrimam, eoque pulchriorem, si vacet populo neque plausum captans se tantum ipsa delectet. Quin etiam mihi quidem laudabiliora videntur omnia, quae sine venditatione et sine populo teste fiunt, — non quo fugiendus sit (omnia enim bene facta in luce se conlocari volunt), sed tamen nullum theatrum virtuti conscientia maius est.

27. 65. Atque in primis meditemur illud, ut haec

patientia dolorum, quam saepe iam animi intentione dixi esse firmandam, in omni genere se aequabilem praebeat. Saepe enim multi, qui aut propter victoriae cupiditatem aut propter gloriae, aut etiam ut ius suum et libertatem tenerent, volnera exceperunt fortiter et tulerunt, idem omissa contentione dolorem morbi ferre non possunt; neque enim illum, quem facile tulerant, ratione aut sapientia tulerant, sed studio potius et gloria. Itaque barbari quidam et inmanes ferro decertare acerrume possunt, aegrotare viriliter non queunt. Graeci autem homines, non satis animosi, prudentes ut est captus hominum satis, hostem aspicere non possunt, eidem morbos toleranter atque humane ferunt. At Cimbri et Celtiberi in proeliis exultant, lamentantur in morbo. Nihil enim potest esse aequabile, quod non a certa ratione proficiscatur. 66. Sed cum videas eos, qui aut studio aut opinione ducantur, in eo persequendo atque adipiscendo dolore non frangi, debeas existimare aut non esse malum dolorem aut, etiamsi, quicquid asperum alienumque natura sit, id appellari placeat malum, tantulum tamen esse, ut a virtute ita obruatur, ut nusquam appareat.

Quae meditare, quaeso, dies et noctes. Latius enim manabit haec ratio et aliquanto maiorem locum quam de uno dolore occupabit. Nam si omnia fugiendae turpitudinis adipiscendaeque honestatis causa faciemus, non modo stimulos doloris, sed etiam fulmina fortunae contemnamus licebit, praesertim cum paratum sit illud ex hesterna disputatione perfugium. 67. Ut enim, si cui naviganti, praedones si insequantur, deus qui dixerit 'Eice te e navi; praesto est, qui excipiat, vel delphinus, *ut Arionem Methymnaeum*; vel equi Pelopis illi Neptunii,

qui 'per undas currus suspensos rapuisse' dicuntur, excipient te et, quo velis, perferent,' omnem omittat is timorem; sic urguentibus asperis et odiosis doloribus, si tanti sint, ut ferendi non sint, quo sit confugiendum tu vides.

Haec fere hoc tempore putavi esse dicenda. Sed tu fortasse in sententia permanes.

A. Minime vero, meque biduo duarum rerum, quas maxime timebam, spero liberatum metu.

M. Cras ergo ad clepsydram; sic enim diximus, et tibi hoc video non posse deberi.

A. Ita prorsus, et illud quidem ante meridiem, hoc eodem tempore.

M. Sic faciemus tuisque optumis studiis obsequemur.

TUSCULANARUM DISPUTATIONUM

LIBER QUINTUS

[Qui docet Virtutem ad Beate Vivendum se Ipsa esse Contentam.]

1. 1. Quintus hic dies, Brute, finem faciet Tusculanarum disputationum; quo die est a nobis ea de re, quam tu ex omnibus maxime probas, disputatum. Placere enim tibi admodum sensi et ex eo libro, quem ad me accurassimе scripsisti, et ex multis sermonibus tuis virtutem ad beate vivendum se ipsa esse contentam. Quod etsi difficile est probatu propter tam varia et tam multa tormenta fortunae, tale tamen est, ut elaborandum sit, quo facilius probetur. Nihil est enim omnium, quae in philosophia tractantur, quod gravius magnificentiusque dicatur. 2. Nam cum ea causa impulerit eos, qui primi se ad philosophiae studium contulerunt, ut omnibus rebus posthabitis totos se in optumo vitae statu exquirendo conlocarent, profecto spe beate vivendi tantam in eo studio curam operamque posuerunt; quodsi ab iis inventa et perfecta virtus est, et si praesidii ad beate vivendum in virtute satis est, quis est, qui non praeclare et ab illis positam et a nobis susceptam operam philosophandi arbitretur?

Sin autem virtus subiecta sub varios incertosque casus famula fortunae est nec tantarum virium est, ut se ipsa tueatur, vereor, ne non tam virtutis fiducia nitendum nobis ad spem beate vivendi quam vota facienda videantur. 3. Equidem eos casus, in quibus me fortuna vehementer exercuit, mecum ipse considerans huic incipio sententiae diffidere interdum et humani generis imbecillitatem fragilitatemque extimescere; vereor enim, ne natura, cum corpora nobis infirma dedisset iisque et morbos insanabilis et dolores intolerabilis adiunxisset, animos quoque dederit et corporum doloribus congruentis et separatim suis angoribus et molestiis implicatos. 4. Sed in hoc me ipse castigo, quod ex aliorum et ex nostra fortasse mollitia, non ex ipsa virtute, de virtutis robore existumo. Illa enim, — si modo est ulla virtus; quam dubitationem avunculus tuus, Brute, sustulit, — omnia, quae cadere in hominem possunt, subter se habet eaque despiciens casus contemnit humanos culpaque omni carens praeter se ipsam nihil censet ad se pertinere. Nos autem, omnia adversa cum venientia metu augentes tum maerore praesentia, rerum naturam quam errorem nostrum damnare malumus.

2. 5. Sed et huius culpae et ceterorum vitiorum peccatorumque nostrorum omnis a philosophia petenda correctio est. Cuius in sinum cum a primis temporibus aetatis nostra voluntas studiumque nos compulisset, his gravissimis casibus in eundem portum, ex quo eramus egressi, magna iactati tempestate confugimus. O vitae philosophia dux, o virtutis indagatrix expultrixque vitiorum! quid non modo nos, sed omnino vita hominum sine te esse potuisset? tu urbis peperisti, tu dissipatos homines *in societatem* vitae convocasti, tu eos inter se primo

domiciliis, deinde coniugiis, tum litterarum et vocum communione iunxisti, tu inventrix legum, tu magistra morum et disciplinae fuisti; ad te confugimus, a te opem petimus, tibi nos, ut antea magna ex parte, sic nunc penitus totosque tradimus. Est autem unus dies bene et ex praeceptis tuis actus peccanti inmortalitati anteponendus. Cuius igitur potius opibus utamur quam tuis, quae et vitae tranquillitatem largita nobis es et terrorem mortis sustulisti? 6. Ac philosophia quidem tantum abest ut proinde ac de hominum est vita merita laudetur, ut a plerisque neglecta a multis etiam vituperetur. Vituperare quisquam vitae parentem et hoc parricidio se inquinare audet et tam impie ingratus esse, ut eam accuset, quam vereri deberet, etiamsi minus percipere potuisset? Sed, ut opinor, hic error et haec indoctorum animis offusa caligo est, quod tam longe retro respicere non possunt nec eos, a quibus vita hominum instructa primis sit, fuisse philosophos arbitrantur.

3. 7. Quam rem antiquissimam cum videamus, nomen tamen esse confitemur recens. Nam sapientiam quidem ipsam quis negare potest non modo re esse antiquam, verum etiam nomine? quae divinarum humanarumque rerum, tum initiorum causarumque cuiusque rei cognitione hoc pulcherrimum nomen apud antiquos adsequebatur. Itaque et illos septem [qui a Graecis σοφοί, sapientes a nostris et habebantur et nominabantur], et multis ante saeculis Lycurgum, cuius temporibus Homerus etiam fuisse ante hanc urbem conditam traditur, et iam heroicis aetatibus Ulixem et Nestorem accepimus et fuisse et habitos esse sapientis. 8. Nec vero Atlans sustinere caelum nec Prometheus adfixus Caucaso nec stellatus *Cepheus cum uxore*, genero, filia traderetur, nisi caelestium

divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulae traduxisset. A quibus ducti deinceps omnes, qui in rerum contemplatione studia ponebant, sapientes et habebantur et nominabantur, idque eorum nomen usque ad Pythagorae manavit aetatem, quem, ut scribit auditor Platonis Ponticus Heraclides, vir doctus in primis, Phliuntem ferunt venisse, eumque cum Leonte, principe Phliasiorum, docte et copiose disseruisse quaedam; cuius ingenium et eloquentiam cum admiratus esset Leon, quaesivisse ex eo, qua maxime arte confideret; at illum artem quidem se scire nullam, sed esse philosophum. Admiratum Leontem novitatem nominis quaesivisse, quinam essent philosophi, et quid inter eos et reliquos interesset; 9. Pythagoram autem respondisse similem sibi videri vitam hominum et mercatum eum, qui haberetur maxumo ludorum apparatu totius Graeciae celebritate; nam ut illic alii corporibus exercitatis gloriam et nobilitatem coronae peterent, alii emendi aut vendendi quaestu et lucro ducerentur, esset autem quoddam genus eorum, idque vel maxime ingenuum, qui nec plausum nec lucrum quaererent, sed visendi causa venirent studioseque perspicerent, quid ageretur et quo modo, item nos, quasi in mercatus quandam celebritatem ex urbe aliqua sic in hanc vitam ex alia vita et natura profectos, alios gloriae servire, alios pecuniae; raros esse quosdam, qui ceteris omnibus pro nihilo habitis rerum naturam studiose intuerentur; hos se appellare sapientiae studiosos (id est enim philosophos); et ut illic liberalissimum esset spectare nihil sibi adquirentem, sic in vita longe omnibus studiis contemplationem rerum cognitionemque praestare. 4. 10. Nec vero Pythagoras *nominis* solum inventor, sed rerum etiam *ipsarum amplificator* fuit. Qui cum post hunc Phliasium

sermonem in Italiam venisset, exornavit eam Graeciam, quae Magna dicta est, et privatim et publice praestantissimis et institutis et artibus. Cuius de disciplina aliud tempus fuerit fortasse dicendi.

Sed ab antiqua philosophia usque ad Socratem, qui Archelaum, Anaxagorae discipulum, audierat, numeri motusque tractabantur, et unde omnia orerentur quove reciderent, studioseque ab iis siderum magnitudines, intervalla, cursus adquirebantur et cuncta caelestia. Socrates autŭm primus philosophiam devocavit e caelo et in urbibus conlocavit et in domus etiam introduxit et coëgit de vita et moribus rebusque bonis et malis quaerere.

11. Cuius multiplex ratio disputandi rerumque varietas et ingenii magnitudo Platonis memoria et litteris consecrata plura genera effecit dissentientium philosophorum, e quibus nos id potissimum consecuti sumus, quo Socratem usum arbitrabamur, ut nostram ipsi sententiam tegeremus, errore alios levaremus et in omni disputatione, quid esset simillimum veri, quaereremus. Quem morem cum Carneades acutissime copiosissimeque tenuisset, fecimus et alias saepe et nuper in Tusculano, ut ad eam consuetudinem disputaremus. Et quadridui quidem sermonem superioribus ad te perscriptum libris misimus, quinto autem die cum eodem in loco consedissemus, sic est propositum, de quo disputaremus:

5. 12. *A.* Non mihi videtur ad beate vivendum satis posse virtutem.

M. At hercule Bruto meo videtur, cuius ego iudicium, pace tua dixerim, longe antepono tuo.

A. Non dubito, nec id nunc agitur, tu illum quantum ames, sed hoc, quod mihi dixi videri, quale sit, de quo *a te disputari* volo.

M. Nempe negas ad beate vivendum satis posse virtutem?

A. Prorsus nego.

M. Quid? ad recte, honeste, laudabiliter, postremo ad bene vivendum satisne est praesidii in virtute?

A. Certe satis.

M. Potes igitur aut, qui male vivat, non eum miserum dicere aut, quem bene fateare, eum negare beate vivere?

A. Quidni possim? nam etiam in tormentis recte, honeste, laudabiliter et ob eam rem bene vivi potest, dum modo intellegas, quid nunc dicam 'bene.' Dico enim constanter, graviter, sapienter, fortiter. Haec etiam in eculeum coiciuntur, quo vita non adspirat beata.

13. *M.* Quid igitur? solane beata vita, quaeso, relinquitur extra ostium limenque carceris, cum constantia, gravitas, fortitudo, sapientia reliquaeque virtutes rapiantur ad tortorem nullumque recusent nec supplicium nec dolorem?

A. Tu, si quid es facturus, nova aliqua conquiras oportet; ista me minime movent, non solum quia pervulgata sunt, sed multo magis, quia, tamquam levia quaedam viña nihil valent in aqua, sic Stoicorum ista magis gustata quam potata delectant. Velut iste chorus virtutum in eculeum impositus imagines constituit ante oculos cum amplissima dignitate, ut ad eas cursim perrectura nec eas beata vita a se desertas passura videatur;

14. cum autem animum ab ista pictura imaginibusque virtutum ad rem veritatemque traduxeris, hoc nudum relinquitur, possitne quis beatus esse, quam diu torqueatur. Quam ob rem hoc nunc quaeramus. Virtutes autem noli vereri ne expostulent et querantur se a beata vita *esse relictas. Si enim* nulla virtus prudentia vacat, pru-

dentia ipsa hoc videt, non omnis bonos esse etiam beatos, multaque de M. Atilio, Q. Caepione, M'. Aquilio recordatur; beatamque vitam, si imaginibus potius uti quam rebus ipsis placet, conantem ire in eculeum retinet ipsa prudentia negatque ei cum dolore et cruciatu quicquam esse commune.

6. 15. *M.* Facile patior te isto modo agere, etsi iniquum est praescribere mihi te, quem ad modum a me disputari velis. Sed quaero utrum aliquid actum superioribus diebus an nihil arbitremur.

A. Actum vero, et aliquantum quidem.

M. Atqui, si ita est, profligata iam haec et paene ad exitum adducta quaestio est.

A. Quo tandem modo?

M. Quia motus turbulenti iactationesque animorum incitatae et impetu inconsiderato elatae, rationem omnem repellentes, vitae beatae nullam partem relinquunt. Quis enim potest mortem aut dolorem metuens, quorum alterum saepe adest, alterum semper inpendet, esse non miser? Quid, si idem, quod plerumque fit, paupertatem, ignominiam, infamiam timet, si debilitatem, caecitatem, si denique, quod non singulis hominibus, sed potentibus populis saepe contigit, servitutem? potest ea timens esse quisquam beatus? 16. Quid, qui non modo ea futura timet, verum etiam fert sustinetque praesentia? adde eodem exilia, luctus, orbitates; qui rebus his fractus aegritudine eliditur, potest tandem esse non miserrimus? Quid vero? illum, quem libidinibus inflammatum et furentem videmus, omnia rabide adpetentem cum inexplebili cupiditate, quoque affluentius *voluptates* undique hauriat, eo gravius ardentiusque *sitientem,* nonne recte miserrimum dixeris? Quid?

elatus ille levitate inanique laetitia exultans et temere gestiens nonne tanto miserior, quanto sibi videtur beatior? Ergo ut hi miseri, sic contra illi beati, quos nulli metus terrent, nullae aegritudines exedunt, nullae libidines incitant, nullae futtiles laetitiae exultantes languidis liquefaciunt voluptatibus. Ut maris igitur tranquillitas intellegitur nulla ne minima quidem aura fluctus commovente, sic animi quietus et placatus status cernitur, cum perturbatio nulla est, qua moveri queat. 17. Quodsi est, qui vim fortunae, qui omnia humana, quae cuique accidere possunt, tolerabilia ducat, ex quo nec timor eum nec angor attingat, idemque si nihil concupiscat, nulla ecferatur animi inani voluptate, quid est, cur is non beatus sit? et si haec virtute efficiuntur, quid est, cur virtus ipsa per se non efficiat beatos?

7. *A.* Atqui alterum dici non potest, quin ii, qui nihil metuant, nihil angantur, nihil concupiscant, nulla impotenti laetitia ecferantur, beati sint; itaque id tibi concedo. Alterum autem iam integrum non est; superioribus enim disputationibus effectum est vacare omni animi perturbatione sapientem.

18. *M.* Nimirum igitur confecta res est; videtur enim ad exitum venisse quaestio.

A. Propemodum id quidem.

M. Verum tamen mathematicorum iste mos est, non est philosophorum. Nam geometrae cum aliquid docere volunt, si quid ad eam rem pertinet eorum, quae ante docuerunt, id sumunt pro concesso et probato, illud modo explicant, de quo ante nihil scriptum est; philosophi quamcumque rem habent in manibus, in eam quae *conveniunt* congerunt omnia, etsi *alio loco disputata sunt.* Quod ni ita esset, cur Stoicus,

si esset quaesitum, satisne ad beate vivendum virtus posset, multa diceret? cui satis esset respondere se ante docuisse nihil bonum esse, nisi quod honestum esset, hoc probato consequens esse beatam vitam virtute esse contentam, et quo modo hoc sit consequens illi, sic illud huic, ut, si beata vita virtute contenta sit, nisi honestum quod sit, nihil aliud sit bonum. 19. Sed tamen non agunt sic; nam et de honesto et de summo bono separatim libri sunt, et cum ex eo efficiatur satis magnam in virtute ad beate vivendum esse vim, nihilo minus hoc agunt separatim. Propriis enim et suis argumentis et admonitionibus tractanda quaeque res est, tanta praesertim. Cave enim putes ullam in philosophia vocem emissam clariorem, ullumve esse philosophiae promissum uberius aut maius. Nam quid profitetur? o di boni! perfecturam se, qui legibus suis paruisset, ut esset contra fortunam semper armatus, ut omnia praesidia haberet in se bene beateque vivendi, ut esset semper denique beatus. 20. Sed videro, quid efficiat; tantisper hoc ipsum magni aestumo, quod pollicetur. Nam Xerxes quidem refertus omnibus praemiis donisque fortunae, non equitatu, non pedestribus copiis, non navium multitudine, non infinito pondere auri contentus praemium proposuit, qui invenisset novam voluptatem. Qua ipsa non fuit contentus; neque enim umquam finem inveniet libido. Nos vellem praemio elicere possemus, qui nobis aliquid attulisset, quo hoc firmius crederemus.

8. 21. *A.* Vellem id quidem, sed habeo paulum, quod requiram. Ego enim adsentior eorum, quae posuisti, *alterum alteri* consequens esse, ut, quem ad modum, si, *quod honestum* sit, id solum sit bonum, sequatur vitam

beatam virtute confici, sic, si vita beata in virtute sit, nihil esse nisi virtutem bonum. Sed Brutus tuus auctore Aristo et Antiocho non sentit hoc; putat enim, etiamsi sit bonum aliquod praeter virtutem.

M. Quid igitur? contra Brutumne me dicturum putas?

A. Tu vero, ut videtur; nam praefinire non est meum.

22. *M.* Quid cuique igitur consentaneum sit, alio loco. Nam ista mihi et cum Antiocho saepe et cum Aristo nuper, cum Athenis imperator apud eum deversarer, dissensio fuit. Mihi enim non videbatur quisquam esse beatus posse, cum in malis esset; in malis autem sapientem esse posse, si essent ulla corporis aut fortunae mala. Dicebantur haec, quae scripsit etiam Antiochus locis pluribus, virtutem ipsam per se beatam vitam efficere posse neque tamen beatissimam; deinde ex maiore parte plerasque res nominari, etiamsi quae pars abesset, ut vires, ut valetudinem, ut divitias, ut honorem, ut gloriam, quae genere, non numero cernerentur; item beatam vitam, etiamsi ex aliqua parte clauderet, tamen ex multo maiore parte obtinere nomen suum. 23. Haec nunc enucleare non ita necesse est, — quamquam non constantissime dici mihi videntur; nam et, qui beatus est, non intellego, quid requirat, ut sit beatior (si est enim quod desit, ne beatus quidem est), et, quod ex maiore parte unam quamque rem appellari spectarique dicunt, est ubi id isto modo valeat; cum vero tria genera malorum esse dicant, qui duorum generum malis omnibus urgeatur, ut omnia advorsa sint in fortuna, omnibus oppressum corpus et confectum doloribus, huic paulumne ad beatam vitam deesse dicemus, non modo ad beatissimam?

9. 24. Hoc illud est, quod Theophrastus sustinere non potuit. *Nam cum statuisset* verbera, tormenta, cruciatus,

patriae eversiones, exilia, orbitates magnam vim habere ad male misereque vivendum, non est ausus elate et ample loqui, cum humiliter demisseque sentiret; quam bene, non quaeritur, constanter quidem certe. Itaque mihi placere non solet consequentia reprehendere, cum prima concesseris. Hic autem elegantissimus omnium philosophorum et eruditissimus non magnopere reprehenditur, cum tria genera dicit bonorum, vexatur autem ab omnibus primum in eo libro, quem scripsit de vita beata, in quo multa disputat, quam ob rem is, qui torqueatur, qui crucietur, beatus esse non possit. In eo etiam putatur dicere in rotam beatam vitam non escendere. Non usquam id quidem dicit omnino, sed, quae dicit, idem valent. 25. Possum igitur, cui concesserim in malis esse dolores corporis, in malis naufragia fortunae, huic suscensere dicenti non omnis bonos esse beatos, cum in omnis bonos ea, quae ille in malis numerat, cadere possint? Vexatur idem Theophrastus et libris et scholis omnium philosophorum, quod in Callisthene suo laudarit illam sententiam:

Vitám regit fortúna, non sapiéntia.

Negant ab ullo philosopho quicquam dictum esse languidius. Recte id quidem, sed nihil intellego dici potuisse constantius. Si enim tot sunt in corpore bona, tot extra corpus in casu atque fortuna, nonne consentaneum est plus fortunam, quae domina rerum sit et externarum et ad corpus pertinentium, quam consilium valere?

26. An malumus Epicurum imitari? qui multa praeclare saepe dicit; quam enim sibi constanter convenienterque dicat, non laborat. Laudat tenuem victum. *Philosophi* id quidem, — sed si Socrates aut Antisthenes

diceret, non is, qui finem bonorum voluptatem esse dixerit. Negat quemquam iucunde posse vivere, nisi idem honeste, sapienter iusteque vivat. Nihil gravius, nihil philosophia dignius,— nisi idem hoc ipsum 'honeste, sapienter, iuste' ad voluptatem referret. Quid melius quam fortunam exiguam intervenire sapienti? sed hoc isne dicit, qui, cum dolorem non modo maxumum malum, sed solum malum etiam dixerit, toto corpore opprimi possit doloribus acerrumis tum, cum maxime contra fortunam glorietur? **27.** Quod idem melioribus etiam verbis Metrodorus: 'Occupavi te,' inquit, 'Fortuna, atque cepi, omnisque aditus tuos interclusi, ut ad me adspirare non posses.' Praeclare,— si Aristo Chius aut si Stoicus Zenon diceret, qui, nisi quod turpe esset, nihil malum duceret; tu vero, Metrodore, qui omne bonum in visceribus medullisque condideris et definieris summum bonum firma corporis adfectione exploratagque eius spe contineri, Fortunae aditus interclusisti? Quo modo? isto enim bono iam expoliari potes. **10.** **28.** Atqui his capiuntur imperiti, et propter huius modi sententias istorum hominum est multitudo.

Acute autem disputantis illud est, non quid quisque dicat, sed quid cuique dicendum sit, videre. Velut in ea ipsa sententia, quam in hac disputatione suscepimus, omnis bonos semper beatos volumus esse. Quos dicam bonos, perspicuum est; omnibus enim virtutibus instructos et ornatos tum sapientis, tum viros bonos dicimus. Videamus, qui dicendi sint beati. Equidem eos existimo, qui sint in bonis nullo adiuncto malo; neque ulla alia huic verbo, cum 'beatum' dicimus, subiecta notio est nisi secretis *malis omnibus* cumulata bonorum complexio. **29.** *Hanc assequi virtus*, si quicquam praeter ipsam boni

est, non potest. Aderit enim malorum, si mala illa ducimus, turba quaedam, paupertas, ignobilitas, humilitas, solitudo, amissio suorum, graves dolores corporis, perdita valetudo, debilitas, caecitas, interitus patriae, exilium, servitus denique — in his tot et tantis (atque etiam plura possunt accidere) potest esse sapiens; nam haec casus importat, qui in sapientem potest incurrere. At si ea mala sunt, quis potest praestare semper sapientem beatum fore, cum vel in omnibus his uno tempore esse possit? 30. Non igitur facile concedo neque Bruto meo neque communibus magistris nec veteribus illis, Aristoteli, Speusippo, Xenocrati, Polemoni, ut, cum ea, quae supra enumeravi, in malis numerent, iidem dicant semper beatum esse sapientem. Quos si titulus hic delectat insignis et pulcher, Pythagora, Socrate, Platone dignissimus, inducant animum illa, quorum splendore capiuntur, vires, valetudinem, pulchritudinem, divitias, honores, opes contemnere eaque, quae his contraria sunt, pro nihilo ducere; tum poterunt clarissima voce profiteri se neque fortunae impetu nec multitudinis opinione nec dolore nec paupertate terreri, omniaque sibi in sese esse posita, nec esse quicquam extra suam potestatem, quod ducant in bonis: 31. nunc et haec loqui, quae sunt magni cuiusdam et alti viri, et eadem, quae vulgus, in malis et bonis numerare concedi nullo modo potest. Qua gloria commotus Epicurus exoritur; cui etiam, si dis placet, videtur semper sapiens beatus. Hic dignitate huius sententiae capitur, sed numquam id diceret, si ipse se audiret. Quid est enim, quod minus conveniat, quam ut is, qui vel summum vel solum malum dolorem esse dicat, idem *censeat* '*Quam* hoc suave est!' tum, cum dolore crucietur, *dicturum esse* sapientem? Non igitur ex singulis voci-

bus philosophi spectandi sunt, sed ex perpetuitate atque constantia.

11. 32. *A.* Adducis me, ut tibi adsentiar. Sed tua quoque vide ne desideretur constantia.

M. Quonam modo?

A. Quia legi tuum nuper quartum de finibus; in eo mihi videbare contra Catonem disserens hoc velle ostendere, quod mihi quidem probatur, inter Zenonem et Peripateticos nihil praeter verborum novitatem interesse. Quod si ita est, quid est causae, quin, si Zenonis rationi consentaneum sit satis magnam vim in virtute esse ad beate vivendum, liceat idem Peripateticis dicere? Rem enim opinor spectari oportere, non verba.

33. *M.* Tu quidem tabellis obsignatis agis mecum, et testificaris quid dixerim aliquando aut scripserim. Cum aliis isto modo, qui legibus impositis disputant; nos in diem vivimus; quodcumque nostros animos probabilitate percussit, id dicimus, itaque soli sumus liberi. Verum tamen, quoniam de constantia paulo ante diximus, non ego hoc loco id quaerendum puto, verumne sit, quod Zenoni placuerit quodque eius auditori Aristoni, bonum esse solum, quod honestum esset, sed, si ita esset, tum ut totum hoc beate vivere in una virtute poneret. 34. Quare demus hoc sane Bruto, ut sit beatus semper sapiens; quam sibi conveniat, ipse viderit; gloria quidem huius sententiae quis est illo viro dignior? Nos tamen teneamus, ut sit idem beatissimus.

12. Et, si Zeno Citieus, advena quidam et ignobilis verborum opifex, insinuasse se in antiquam philosophiam videtur, huius sententiae gravitas a Platonis auctoritate repetatur, apud quem saepe haec oratio usurpata est, ut *nihil praeter virtutem* diceretur bonum. 35. Velut in

Gorgia Socrates, cum esset ex eo quaesitum, Archelaum, Perdiccae filium, qui tum fortunatissimus haberetur, nonne beatum putaret, 'Haud scio,' inquit; 'numquam enim cum eo conlocutus sum.'—'Ain tu? an aliter id scire non potes?'—'Nullo modo.'—'Tu igitur ne de Persarum quidem rege magno potes dicere, beatusne sit?'—'An ego possim, cum ignorem, quam sit doctus, quam vir bonus?'—'Quid? tu in eo sitam vitam beatam putas?'—'Ita prorsus existimo—bonos beatos, improbos miseros.'—'Miser ergo Archelaus?'—'Certe, si iniustus.'—Videturne omnem hic beatam vitam in una virtute ponere?

36. Quid vero? in Epitaphio quo modo idem? 'Nam cui viro,' inquit, 'ex se ipso apta sunt omnia, quae ad beate vivendum ferunt, nec suspensa aliorum aut bono casu aut contrario pendere ex alterius eventis et errare coguntur, huic optume vivendi ratio comparata est. Hic est ille moderatus, hic fortis, hic sapiens, hic, et nascentibus et cadentibus cum reliquis commodis tum maxime liberis, parebit et oboediet praecepto illi veteri; neque enim laetabitur umquam nec maerebit nimis, quod semper in se ipse omnem spem reponet sui.' Ex hoc igitur Platonis quasi quodam sancto augustoque fonte nostra omnis manabit oratio.

13. 37. Unde igitur ordiri rectius possumus quam a communi parente natura? quae, quicquid genuit, non modo animal, sed etiam quod ita ortum esset e terra, ut stirpibus suis niteretur, in suo quidque genere perfectum esse voluit. Itaque et arbores et vites et ea, quae sunt humiliora neque se tollere a terra altius possunt, alia semper virent, alia hieme nudata verno tempore tepefacta frondescunt, neque est ullum, quod non ita vigeat *interiore quodam* motu et suis in quoque seminibus inclu-

sis, ut aut flores aut fruges fundat aut bacas, omniaque in omnibus, quantum in ipsis sit, nulla vi impediente, perfecta sint. 38. Facilius vero etiam in bestiis, quod iis sensus a natura est datus, vis ipsius naturae perspici potest. Namque alias bestias nantis aquarum incolas esse voluit, alias volucres caelo frui libero, serpentis quasdam, quasdam esse gradientis; earum ipsarum partim solivagas, partim congregatas, inmanis alias, quasdam autem cicures, non nullas abditas terraque tectas. (Atque earum quaeque suum tenens munus, cum in disparis animantis vitam transire non possit, manet in lege naturae.) Et ut bestiis aliud alii praecipui a natura datum est, quod suum quaeque retinet nec discedit ab eo, sic homini multo quiddam praestantius — etsi praestantia debent ea dici, quae habent aliquam comparationem; humanus autem animus decerptus ex mente divina cum alio nullo nisi cum ipso deo, si hoc fas est dictu, comparari potest. 39. Hic igitur si est excultus, et si eius acies ita curata est, ut ne caecaretur erroribus, fit perfecta mens, id est absoluta ratio, quod est idem virtus. Et, si omne beatum est, cui nihil deest, et quod in suo genere expletum atque cumulatum est, idque virtutis est proprium, certe omnes virtutis compotes beati sunt.

Et hoc quidem mihi cum Bruto convenit, id est cum Aristotele, Xenocrate, Speusippo, Polemone. 40. Sed mihi videntur etiam beatissimi. Quid enim deest ad beate vivendum ei, qui confidit suis bonis? aut, qui diffidit, beatus esse qui potest? 14. At diffidat necesse est, qui bona dividit tripertito. Qui enim poterit aut corporis firmitate aut fortunae stabilitate confidere? Atqui nisi stabili et fixo et permanente bono beatus esse nemo potest. *Quid ergo eius modi istorum est?* ut mihi Laconis illud

dictum in hos cadere videatur. Qui glorianti cuidam mercatori, quod multas navis in omnem oram maritimam dimisisset, 'Non sane optabilis ista quidem,' inquit, 'rudentibus apta fortuna.' An dubium est, quin nihil sit habendum in eo genere, quo vita beata compleatur, si id possit amitti? Nihil enim interarescere, nihil extingui, nihil cadere debet eorum, in quibus vita beata consistit. Nam qui timebit, ne quid ex his deperdat, beatus esse non poterit. 41. Volumus enim eum, qui beatus sit, tutum esse, inexpugnabilem, saeptum atque munitum, non ut parvo metu praeditus sit, sed ut nullo. Ut enim innocens is dicitur (non qui leviter nocet, sed) qui nihil nocet, sic sine metu is habendus est (non qui parva metuit, sed) qui omnino metu vacat. Quae est enim alia fortitudo nisi animi adfectio cum in adeundo periculo et in labore ac dolore patiens, tum procul ab omni metu? Atque haec certe non ita se haberent, nisi omne bonum in una honestate consisteret. 42. Qui autem illam maxume optatam et expetitam securitatem (securitatem autem nunc appello vacuitatem aegritudinis, in qua vita beata posita est) habere quisquam potest, cui aut adsit aut adesse possit multitudo malorum? Qui autem poterit esse celsus et erectus et ea, quae homini accidere possunt, omnia parva ducens, qualem sapientem esse volumus, nisi omnia sibi in se posita censebit? An Lacedaemonii Philippo minitante per litteras se omnia, quae conarentur, prohibiturum quaesiverunt, num se esset etiam mori prohibiturus; vir is, quem quaerimus, non multo facilius tali animo reperietur quam civitas universa? Quid? ad hanc fortitudinem, de qua loquimur, temperantia adiuncta, *quae sit* moderatrix omnium commotionum, quid potest *ad beate vivendum* deesse ei, quem fortitudo ab aegri-

tudine et a metu vindicet, temperantia cum a libidine avocet, tum insolenti alacritate gestire non sinat? Haec efficere virtutem ostenderem, nisi superioribus diebus essent explicata. **15. 43.** Atque cum perturbationes animi miseriam, sedationes autem vitam efficiant beatam, duplexque ratio perturbationis sit, quod aegritudo et metus in malis opinatis, in bonorum autem errore laetitia gestiens libidoque versetur, cum omnia ea cum consilio et ratione pugnent, his tu tam gravibus concitationibus tamque ipsis inter se dissentientibus atque distractis quem vacuum, solutum, liberum videris, hunc dubitabis beatum dicere? Atqui sapiens semper ita adfectus est; semper igitur sapiens beatus est.

Atque etiam omne bonum laetabile est; quod autem laetabile, id praedicandum et prae se ferendum; quod tale autem, id etiam gloriosum; si vero gloriosum, certe laudabile; quod laudabile autem, profecto etiam honestum; quod bonum igitur, id honestum. **44.** At quae isti bona numerant, ne ipsi quidem honesta dicunt; solum igitur bonum, quod honestum; ex quo efficitur honestate una vitam contineri beatam.

Non sunt igitur ea bona dicenda nec habenda, quibus abundantem licet esse miserrimum. **45.** An dubitas, quin praestans valetudine, viribus, forma, acerrumis integerrumisque sensibus — adde etiam, si lubet, pernicitatem et velocitatem, da divitias, honores, imperia, opes, gloriam — si fuerit is, qui haec habet, iniustus, intemperans, timidus, hebeti ingenio atque nullo, dubitabisne eum miserum dicere? Qualia igitur ista bona sunt, quae qui habeat, miserrimus esse possit? Videamus ne, ut acervus ex sui *generis granis*, sic beata vita ex suis *similibus partibus effici debeat*; quod si ita est, ex bonis, quae

sola honesta sunt, efficiendum est beatum. Ea mixta ex dissimilibus si erunt, honestum ex iis effici nihil poterit; quo detracto quid poterit beatum intellegi? Etenim, quicquid est, quod bonum sit, id expetendum est; quod autem expetendum, id certe adprobandum; quod vero adprobaris, id gratum acceptumque habendum; ergo etiam dignitas ei tribuenda est; quod si ita est, laudabile sit necesse est; bonum igitur omne laudabile. Ex quo efficitur, ut, quod sit honestum, id sit solum bonum. 16. 46. Quod ni ita tenebimus, multa erunt, quae nobis bona dicenda sint; omitto divitias (quas cum quivis quamvis indignus habere possit, in bonis non numero; quod enim est bonum, id non quivis habere potest), omitto nobilitatem famamque popularem stultorum inproborumque consensu excitatam; haec, quae sunt minima, tamen bona dicantur necesse est: candiduli dentes, venusti oculi, color suavis et ea, quae Anticlea laudat Ulixi pedes abluens:

Lénitudo orátionis, móllitudo córporis.

Ea si bona ducemus, quid erit in philosophi gravitate quam in volgi opinione stultorumque turba quod dicatur aut gravius aut grandius? 47. At enim eadem Stoici 'praecipua' vel 'producta' dicunt, quae 'bona' isti. Dicunt illi quidem, sed iis vitam beatam compleri negant; hi autem sine iis esse nullam putant aut, si sit beata, beatissimam certe negant.

Nos autem volumus beatissimam, idque nobis Socratica illa conclusione confirmatur. Sic enim princeps ille philosophiae disserebat: qualis cuiusque animi adfectus esset, talem esse hominem; qualis autem homo ipse esset, talem eius esse orationem; orationi autem facta similia, *factis vitam.* Adfectus autem animi in bono viro lauda-

bilis, et vita igitur laudabilis boni viri, et honesta ergo, quoniam laudabilis. Ex quibus bonorum beatam vitam esse concluditur. 48. Etenim, pro deorum atque hominum fidem! parumne cognitum est superioribus nostris disputationibus, an delectationis et otii consumendi causa locuti sumus, sapientem ab omni concitatione animi, quam perturbationem voco, semper vacare, semper in animo eius esse placidissimam pacem? Vir igitur temperatus, constans, sine metu, sine aegritudine, sine alacritate ulla, sine libidine nonne beatus? at semper sapiens talis; semper igitur beatus.

Iam vero qui potest vir bonus non ad id, quod laudabile sit, omnia referre, quae agit quaeque sentit? refert autem omnia ad beate vivendum; beata igitur vita laudabilis; nec quicquam sine virtute laudabile; beata igitur vita virtute conficitur. 17. 49. Atque hoc sic etiam concluditur: nec in misera vita quicquam est praedicabile aut gloriandum nec in ea, quae nec misera sit nec beata; et est in aliqua vita praedicabile aliquid et gloriandum ac prae se ferendum, ut Epaminondas:

Consiliis nostris laus est attonsa Laconum,

ut Africanus:

A sole exoriente supra Maeotis paludes
Nemo est, qui factis aequiperare queat.

50. Quod si est, beata vita glorianda et praedicanda et prae se ferenda est; nihil est enim aliud, quod praedicandum et prae se ferendum sit. Quibus positis intellegis quid sequatur.

Et quidem, nisi ea vita beata est, quae est eadem honesta, sit aliud necesse est melius vita beata; quod erit enim honestum, certe fatebuntur esse melius. Ita erit

beata vita melius aliquid; quo quid potest dici perversius? Quid? cum fatentur satis magnam vim esse in vitiis ad miseram vitam, nonne fatendum est eandem vim in virtute esse ad beatam vitam? Contrariorum enim contraria sunt consequentia. 51. Quo loco quaero, quam vim habeat libra illa Critolai, qui cum in alteram lancem animi bona imponat, in alteram corporis et externa, tantum propendere illam putet, ut terram et maria deprimat. 18. Quid ergo aut hunc prohibet aut etiam Xenocratem illum gravissimum philosophorum, exaggerantem tantopere virtutem, extenuantem cetera et abicientem, in virtute non beatam modo vitam, sed etiam beatissimam ponere? quod quidem nisi fit, virtutum interitus consequetur. 52. Nam in quem cadit aegritudo, in eundem metum cadere necesse est; est enim metus futurae aegritudinis sollicita exspectatio; in quem autem metus, in eundem formido, timiditas, pavor, ignavia; ergo, ut idem vincatur interdum nec putet ad se praeceptum illud Atrei pertinere:

Proinde ita parent se in vita, ut vinci nesciant.

Hic autem vincetur, ut dixi, nec modo vincetur, sed etiam serviet; at nos virtutem semper liberam volumus, semper invictam; quae nisi sunt, sublata virtus est.

53. Atque si in virtute satis est praesidii ad bene vivendum, satis est etiam ad beate; satis est enim certe in virtute, ut fortiter vivamus; si fortiter, etiam ut magno animo, et quidem ut nulla re umquam terreamur semperque simus invicti. Sequitur, ut nihil paeniteat, nihil desit, nihil obstet; ergo omnia profluenter, absolute, prospere, igitur beate. Satis autem virtus ad fortiter *vivendum* potest; satis ergo etiam ad beate. 54. Etenim

ut stultitia, etsi adepta est, quod concupivit, numquam se tamen satis consecutam putat, sic sapientia semper eo contenta est, quod adest, neque eam umquam sui paenitet.

19. Similemne putas C. Laelii unum consulatum fuisse, et eum quidem cum repulsa (si, cum sapiens et bonus vir, qualis ille fuit, suffragiis praeteritur, non populus a bono consule potius quam ille a populo repulsam fert) — sed tamen utrum malles te, si potestas esset, semel ut Laelium consulem an ut Cinnam quater? **55.** Non dubito, tu quid responsurus sis; itaque video, cui committam. Non quemvis hoc idem interrogarem; responderet enim alius fortasse se non modo quattuor consulatus uni anteponere, sed unum diem Cinnae multorum et clarorum virorum totis aetatibus. Laelius si digito quem attigisset, poenas dedisset; at Cinna collegae sui, consulis Cn. Octavii, praecidi caput iussit, P. Crassi, L. Caesaris, nobilissimorum hominum, quorum virtus fuerat domi militiaeque cognita, M. Antonii, omnium eloquentissimi, quos ego audierim, C. Caesaris, in quo mihi videtur specimen fuisse humanitatis, salis, suavitatis, leporis. Beatusne igitur, qui hos interfecit? Mihi contra non solum eo videtur miser, quod ea fecit, sed etiam quod ita se gessit, ut ea facere ei liceret. Etsi peccare nemini licet; sed sermonis errore labimur; id enim licere dicimus, quod cuique conceditur. **56.** Utrum tandem beatior C. Marius tum, cum Cimbricae victoriae gloriam cum collega Catulo communicavit, paene altero Laelio (nam hunc illi duco simillimum), an cum civili bello victor iratus necessariis Catuli deprecantibus non semel respondit, sed saepe: 'Moriatur'? In quo beatior ille, qui *huic nefariae* voci paruit, quam is, qui *tam scelerate imperavit.* Nam cum accipere quam facere

praestat iniuriam, tum morti iam ipsi adventanti paulum procedere obviam, quod fecit Catulus, quam quod Marius, talis viri interitu sex suos obruere consulatus et contaminare extremum tempus aetatis.

20. 57. Duodequadraginta annos tyrannus Syracusanorum fuit Dionysius, cum quinque et viginti natus annos dominatum occupavisset. Qua pulchritudine urbem, quibus autem opibus praeditam servitute oppressam tenuit civitatem! Atqui de hoc homine a bonis auctoribus sic scriptum accepimus, summam fuisse eius in victu temperantiam in rebusque gerundis virum acrem et industrium; eundem tamen maleficum natura et iniustum. Ex quo omnibus bene veritatem intuentibus videri necesse est miserrimum. Ea enim ipsa, quae concupierat, ne tum quidem, cum omnia se posse censebat, consequebatur. 58. Qui cum esset bonis parentibus atque honesto loco natus (etsi id quidem alius alio modo tradidit) abundaretque et aequalium familiaritatibus et consuetudine propinquorum, haberet etiam more Graeciae quosdam adulescentis amore coniunctos, credebat eorum nemini; sed iis, quos ex familiis locupletium servos delegerat, quibus nomen servitutis ipse detraxerat, et quibusdam convenis et feris barbaris corporis custodiam committebat. Ita propter iniustam dominatus cupiditatem in carcerem quodam modo ipse se incluserat. Quin etiam, ne tonsori collum committeret, tondere filias suas docuit. Ita sordido ancillarique artificio regiae virgines ut tonstriculae tondebant barbam et capillum patris. Et tamen ab his ipsis, cum iam essent adultae, ferrum removit instituitque, ut candentibus iuglandium putaminibus barbam sibi et capillum adurerent. 59. Cumque duas *uxores haberet*, Aristomachen, civem suam, Doridem

autem Locrensem, sic noctu ad eas ventitabat, ut omnia specularetur et perscrutaretur ante. Et cum fossam latam cubiculari lecto circumdedisset eiusque fossae transitum ponticulo ligneo coniunxisset, eum ipsum, cum forem cubiculi clauserat, detorquebat. Idemque cum in communibus suggestis consistere non auderet, contionari ex turri alta solebat. 60. Atque is cum pila ludere vellet (studiose enim id factitabat) tunicamque poneret, adulescentulo, quem amabat, tradidisse gladium dicitur. Hic cum quidam familiaris iocans dixisset 'Huic quidem certe vitam tuam committis,' adrisissetque adulescens, utrumque iussit interfici, alterum, quia viam demonstravisset interimendi sui, alterum, quia dictum id risu adprobavisset. Atque eo facto sic doluit, nihil ut tulerit gravius in vita; quem enim vehementer amarat, occiderat. Sic distrahuntur in contrarias partis impotentium cupiditates. Cum huic obsecutus sis, illi est repugnandum.

21. 61. Quamquam hic quidem tyrannus ipse iudicavit, quam esset beatus. Nam cum quidam ex eius adsentatoribus, Damocles, commemoraret in sermone copias eius, opes, maiestatem dominatus, rerum abundantiam, magnificentiam aedium regiarum negaretque umquam beatiorem quemquam fuisse, 'Visne igitur,' inquit, 'o Damocle, quoniam te haec vita delectat, ipse eam degustare et fortunam experiri meam?' Cum se ille cupere dixisset, conlocari iussit hominem in aureo lecto strato pulcherrimo textili stragulo, magnificis operibus picto, abacosque compluris ornavit argento auroque caelato. Tum ad mensam eximia forma pueros delectos iussit consistere eosque nutum illius intuentis diligenter ministrare. **62.** Aderant unguenta, coronae, incendebantur odores, *mensae conquisitissimis* epulis extruebantur. Fortunatus

sibi Damocles videbatur. In hoc medio apparatu fulgentem gladium e lacunari saeta equina aptum demitti iussit, ut impenderet illius beati cervicibus. Itaque nec pulchros illos ministratores aspiciebat nec plenum artis argentum, nec manum porrigebat in mensam; iam ipsae defluebant coronae. Denique exoravit tyrannum, ut abire liceret, quod iam beatus nollet esse. Satisne videtur declarasse Dionysius nihil esse ei beatum, cui semper aliqui terror impendeat? Atque ei ne integrum quidem erat, ut ad iustitiam remigraret, civibus libertatem et iura redderet; iis enim se adulescens inprovida aetate inretierat erratis eaque commiserat, ut salvus esse non posset, si sanus esse coepisset.

22. 63. Quantopere vero amicitias desideraret, quarum infidelitatem extimescebat, declaravit in Pythagoriis duobus illis. Quorum cum alterum vadem mortis accepisset, alter, ut vadem suum liberaret, praesto fuisset ad horam mortis destinatam, 'Utinam ego,' inquit, 'tertius vobis amicus adscriberer!' Quam huic erat miserum carere consuetudine amicorum, societate victus, sermone omnino familiari, homini praesertim docto a puero et artibus ingenuis erudito! Musicorum vero perstudiosum, poëtam etiam tragicum (quam bonum, nihil ad rem; in hoc enim genere nescio quo pacto magis quam in aliis suum cuique pulchrum est. Adhuc neminem cognovi poëtam, et mihi fuit cum Aquinio amicitia, qui sibi non optumus videretur. Sic se res habet: te tua, me delectant mea) — sed ut ad Dionysium redeamus, omni cultu et victu humano carebat; vivebat cum fugitivis, cum facinerosis, cum barbaris; neminem, qui aut libertate dignus esset aut vellet omnino liber esse, sibi *amicum* arbitrabatur.

23. 64. Non ego iam cum huius vita, qua taetrius, miserius, detestabilius excogitare nihil possum, Platonis aut Archytae vitam comparabo, doctorum hominum et plane sapientium; ex eadem urbe humilem homunculum a pulvere et radio excitabo, qui multis annis post fuit, Archimedem. Cuius ego quaestor ignoratum ab Syracusanis (cum esse omnino negarent) saeptum undique et vestitum vepribus et dumetis indagavi sepulcrum. Tenebam enim quosdam senariolos, quos in eius monumento esse inscriptos acceperam, qui declarabant in summo sepulcro sphaeram esse positam cum cylindro. 65. Ego autem cum omnia conlustrarem oculis (est enim ad portas Agragentinas magna frequentia sepulcrorum), animum adverti columellam non multum e dumis eminentem, in qua inerat sphaerae figura et cylindri. Atque ego statim Syracusanis (erant autem principes mecum) dixi me illud ipsum arbitrari esse, quod quaererem. Inmissi cum falcibus multi purgarunt et aperuerunt locum. 66. Quo cum patefactus esset aditus, ad adversam basim accessimus. Apparebat epigramma exesis posterioribus partibus versiculorum dimidiatis fere. Ita nobilissima Graeciae civitas, quondam vero etiam doctissima, sui civis unius acutissimi monumentum ignorasset, nisi ab homine Arpinate didicisset. Sed redeat, unde aberravit oratio. Quis est omnium, qui modo cum Musis, id est cum humanitate et cum doctrina, habeat aliquod commercium, qui se non hunc mathematicum malit quam illum tyrannum? Si vitae modum actionemque quaerimus, alterius mens rationibus agitandis exquirendisque alebatur cum oblectatione solertiae, *qui est unus* suavissimus pastus animorum, *alterius in caede et iniuriis* cum et diurno et nocturno

metu. Age confer Democritum, Pythagoram, Anaxagoram; quae regna, quas opes studiis eorum et delectationibus antepones? 67. Etenim, quae pars optuma est in homine, in ea situm esse necesse est illud, quod quaeris, optumum. Quid est autem in homine sagaci ac bona mente melius? Eius bono fruendum est igitur, si beati esse volumus; bonum autem mentis est virtus; ergo hac beatam vitam contineri necesse est.

Hinc omnia, quae pulchra, honesta, praeclara sunt, ut supra dixi, sed dicendum idem illud paulo uberius videtur, plena gaudiorum sunt. Ex perpetuis autem plenisque gaudiis cum perspicuum sit vitam beatam existere, sequitur, ut ea existat ex honestate. 24. 68. Sed ne verbis solum attingamus ea, quae volumus ostendere, proponenda quaedam quasi moventia sunt, quae nos magis ad cognitionem intellegentiamque convertant. Sumatur enim nobis quidam praestans vir optumis artibus, isque animo parumper et cogitatione fingatur. Primum ingenio eximio sit necesse est (tardis enim mentibus virtus non facile comitatur), deinde ad investigandam veritatem studio incitato. Ex quo triplex ille animi fetus existet, unus in cognitione rerum positus et in explicatione naturae, alter in discriptione expetendarum fugiendarumque rerum et in ratione vivendi, tertius in iudicando, quid cuique rei sit consequens, quid repugnans, in quo inest omnis cum subtilitas disserendi, tum veritas iudicandi. 69. Quo tandem igitur gaudio adfici necesse est sapientis animum cum his habitantem pernoctantemque curis! ut cum totius mundi motus conversionesque perspexerit sideraque viderit innumerabilia *caelo inhaerentia* cum eius ipsius motu congruere *certis infixa* sedibus, septem alia suos quaeque tenere

cursus multum inter se aut altitudine aut humilitate distantia, quorum vagi motus rata tamen et certa sui cursus spatia definiant. Horum nimirum aspectus impulit illos veteres et admonuit, ut plura quaererent. Inde est indagatio nata initiorum et tamquam seminum, unde essent omnia orta, generata, concreta, quaeque cuiusque generis vel inanimi vel animantis vel muti vel loquentis origo, quae vita, qui interitus quaeque ex alio in aliud vicissitudo atque mutatio, unde terra et quibus librata ponderibus, quibus cavernis maria sustineantur, qua omnia delata gravitate medium mundi locum semper expetant, qui est idem infimus in rotundo. **25. 70.** Haec tractanti animo et noctes et dies cogitanti existit illa a deo Delphis praecepta cognitio, ut ipsa se mens agnoscat coniunctamque cum divina mente se sentiat, ex quo insatiabili gaudio compleatur. Ipsa enim cogitatio de vi et natura deorum studium incendit illius aeternitatem imitandi neque se in brevitate vitae conlocatam putat, cum rerum causas alias ex aliis aptas et necessitate nexas videt — quibus ab aeterno tempore fluentibus in aeternum ratio tamen mensque moderatur. **71.** Haec ille intuens atque suspiciens vel potius omnis partis orasque circumspiciens quanta rursus animi tranquillitate humana et citeriora considerat! Hinc illa cognitio virtutis existit, efflorescunt genera partesque virtutum, invenitur, quid sit, quod natura spectet extremum in bonis, quid in malis ultimum, quo referenda sint officia, quae degendae aetatis ratio diligenda. Quibus et talibus rebus exquisitis hoc vel maxime efficitur, quod hac disputatione agimus, ut virtus ad *beate vivendum sit* se ipsa contenta. **72.** Sequitur *tertia, quae per omnis* partis sapientiae manat et fun-

ditur, quae rem definit, genera dispertit, sequentia adiungit, perfecta concludit, vera et falsa diiudicat, disserendi ratio et scientia. Ex qua cum summa utilitas existit ad res ponderandas, tum maxume ingenua delectatio et digna sapientia. Sed haec otii. Transeat idem iste sapiens ad rem publicam tuendam. Quid eo possit esse praestantius, cum [contineri] prudentia utilitatem civium cernat, iustitia nihil in suam domum inde derivet, reliquis utatur tot tam variisque virtutibus? Adiunge fructum amicitiarum, in quo doctis positum est cum consilium omnis vitae consentiens et paene conspirans, tum summa iucunditas e cotidiano cultu atque victu. Quid haec tandem vita desiderat, quo sit beatior? cui refertae tot tantisque gaudiis Fortuna ipsa cedat necesse est. Quodsi gaudere talibus bonis animi, id est virtutibus, beatum est omnesque sapientes his gaudiis perfruuntur, omnis eos beatos esse confiteri necesse est.

26. 73. *A.* Etiamne in cruciatu atque tormentis?

M. An tu me in viola putabas aut in rosa dicere? An Epicuro, qui tantum modo induit personam philosophi et sibi ipse hoc nomen inscripsit, dicere licebit (quod quidem, ut habet se res, me tamen plaudente dicit) nullum sapienti esse tempus, etiamsi uratur, torqueatur, secetur, quin possit exclamare 'Quam pro nihilo puto!,' cum praesertim omne malum dolore definiat, bonum voluptate, haec nostra honesta, turpia inrideat dicatque nos in vocibus occupatos inanis sonos fundere, neque quicquam ad nos pertinere, nisi quod aut leve aut asperum in corpore sentiatur — huic ergo, ut dixi, non multum differenti a iudicio ferarum oblivisci licebit sui et tum fortunam contemnere, cum sit omne et bonum eius et malum in potestate fortunae, tum dicere se beatum in summo cruciatu

atque tormentis, cum constituerit non modo summum malum esse dolorem, sed etiam solum? 74. Nec vero illa sibi remedia comparavit ad tolerandum dolorem, firmitatem animi, turpitudinis verecundiam, exercitationem consuetudinemque patiendi, praecepta fortitudinis, duritiam virilem, sed una se dicit recordatione adquiescere praeteritarum voluptatium, — ut si quis aestuans, cum vim caloris non facile patiatur, recordari velit sese aliquando in Arpinati nostro gelidis fluminibus circumfusum fuisse! non enim video, quo modo sedare possint mala praesentia praeteritae voluptates. 75. Sed cum is dicat semper beatum esse sapientem, cui dicere hoc, si sibi constare vellet, non liceret, quidnam faciendum est iis, qui nihil expetendum, nihil in bonis ducendum, quod honestate careat, existumant?

Me quidem auctore etiam Peripatetici veteresque Academici balbutire aliquando desinant aperteque et clara voce audeant dicere beatam vitam in Phalaridis taurum descensuram. 27. 76. Sint enim tria genera bonorum, ut iam a laqueis Stoicorum, quibus usum me pluribus, quam soleo, intellego, recedamus, sint sane illa genera bonorum, dum corporis et externa iaceant humi et tantum modo, quia sumenda sint, appellentur bona, alia autem illa divina longe lateque se pandant caelumque contingant. Ea qui adeptus sit, cur eum beatum modo et non beatissimum etiam dixerim? Dolorem vero sapiens extimescet? Is enim huic maxime sententiae repugnat; nam contra mortem nostram atque nostrorum contraque aegritudinem et reliquas animi perturbationes satis esse videmur superiorum dierum disputationibus armati et parati. Dolor esse videtur acerrumus virtuti *adversarius; is* ardentes faces intentat, is fortitudinem,

magnitudinem animi, patientiam se debilitaturum minatur. 77. Huic igitur succumbet virtus, huic beata sapientis et constantis viri vita cedet? Quam turpe, o di boni! Pueri Spartiatae non ingemescunt verberum dolore laniati. Adulescentium greges Lacedaemone vidimus ipsi incredibili contentione certantis pugnis, calcibus, unguibus, morsu denique, cum exanimarentur prius, quam victos se faterentur. Quae barbaria India vastior aut agrestior? in ea tamen gente primum ei, qui sapientes habentur, nudi aetatem agunt et Caucasi nives hiemalemque vim perferunt sine dolore, cumque ad flammam se adplicaverunt, sine gemitu aduruntur. 78. Mulieres vero in India, cum est [cuius] earum vir mortuus, in certamen iudiciumque veniunt, quam plurimum ille dilexerit (plures enim singulis solent esse nuptae). Quae est victrix, ea laeta prosequentibus suis una cum viro in rogum imponitur; illa victa maesta discedit. (Numquam naturam mos vinceret; est enim ea semper invicta. Sed nos umbris, deliciis, otio, languore, desidia animum infecimus, opinionibus maloque more delenitum mollivimus.) Aegyptiorum morem quis ignorat? quorum inbutae mentes pravitatis erroribus quamvis carnificinam prius subierint, quam ibim aut aspidem aut faelem aut canem aut crocodilum violent; quorum etiamsi inprudentes quippiam fecerint, poenam nullam recusent. 79. De hominibus loquor; quid? bestiae non frigus, non famem, non montivagos atque silvestris cursus lustrationesque patiuntur? non pro suo partu ita propugnant, ut vulnera excipiant, nullos impetus, nullos ictus reformident? Omitto, quae perferant quaeque patiantur ambitiosi honoris causa, laudis studiosi gloriae gratia, amore incensi cupiditatis. Plena vita exemplorum est.

28. 80. Sed adhibeat oratio modum et redeat illuc,

unde deflexit. Dabit, inquam, se in tormenta vita beata nec iustitiam, temperantiam in primisque fortitudinem, magnitudinem animi, patientiam prosecuta, cum tortoris os viderit, consistet virtutibusque omnibus sine ullo animi terrore ad cruciatum profectis resistet extra fores, ut ante dixi, limenque carceris. Quid enim ea foedius, quid deformius sola relicta, a comitatu pulcherrimo segregata? quod tamen fieri nullo pacto potest; nec enim virtutes sine beata vita cohaerere possunt nec illa sine virtutibus. 81. Itaque eam tergiversari non sinent secumque rapient ad quemcumque ipsae dolorem cruciatumque ducentur. Sapientis est enim proprium nihil quod paenitere possit facere, nihil invitum, splendide, constanter, graviter, honeste omnia, nihil ita exspectare quasi certo futurum, nihil, cum acciderit, admirari, ut inopinatum ac novum accidisse videatur, omnia ad suum arbitrium referre, suis stare iudiciis. Quo quid sit beatius, mihi certe in mentem venire non potest. 82. Stoicorum quidem facilis conclusio est; qui cum finem bonorum esse senserint congruere naturae cumque ea convenienter vivere, cum id sit in sapientis situm non officio solum, verum etiam potestate, sequatur necesse est, ut, cuius in potestate summum bonum, in eiusdem vita beata sit. Ita fit semper vita beata sapientis. Habes, quae fortissime de beata vita dici putem et, quo modo nunc est, nisi quid tu melius attuleris, etiam verissime.

29. *A.* Melius equidem adferre nihil possum, sed a te impetrarim lubenter, ut, nisi molestum sit, quoniam te nulla vincula impediunt ullius certae disciplinae libasque ex omnibus, quodcumque te maxime specie veritatis movet, — quod paulo ante Peripateticos veteremque Academiam *hortari videbare*, ut sine retractatione libere di-

cere auderent sapientis esse semper beatissimos, id velim audire, quem ad modum his putes consentaneum esse id dicere. Multa enim a te contra istam sententiam dicta sunt et Stoicorum ratione conclusa.

83. *M.* Utamur igitur libertate, qua nobis solis in philosophia licet uti, quorum oratio nihil ipsa iudicat, sed habetur in omnis partis, ut ab aliis possit ipsa per sese nullius auctoritate adiuncta iudicari. Et quoniam videris hoc velle, ut, quaecumque dissentientium philosophorum sententia sit de finibus, tamen virtus satis habeat ad vitam beatam praesidii, quod quidem Carneadem disputare solitum accepimus — sed is, ut contra Stoicos, quos studiosissime semper refellebat, et contra quorum disciplinam ingenium eius exarserat — nos quidem illud cum pace agemus. Si enim Stoici finis bonorum recte posiverunt, confecta res est: necesse est semper beatum esse sapientem. 84. Sed quaeramus unam quamque reliquorum sententiam, si fieri potest, ut hoc praeclarum quasi decretum beatae vitae possit omnium sententiis et disciplinis convenire.

30. Sunt autem haec de finibus, ut opinor, retentae defensaeque sententiae: primum simplices quattuor; nihil bonum nisi honestum, ut Stoici, nihil bonum nisi voluptatem, ut Epicurus, nihil bonum nisi vacuitatem doloris, ut Hieronymus, nihil bonum nisi naturae primis bonis aut omnibus aut maxumis frui, ut Carneades contra Stoicos disserebat. 85. Haec igitur simplicia; illa mixta — tria genera bonorum, maxuma animi, secunda corporis, externa tertia, ut Peripatetici nec multo veteres Academici secus; voluptatem cum honestate Dinomachus et Callipho copulavit, indolentiam autem honestati Peripateticus Diodorus adiunxit. Hae sunt sententiae, quae

stabilitatis aliquid habeant; nam Aristonis, Pyrrhonis, Erilli non nullorumque aliorum evanuerunt.

Hi quid possint obtinere videamus, omissis Stoicis, quorum satis videor defendisse sententiam. Et Peripateticorum quidem explicata causa est praeter Theophrastum, et si qui illum secuti imbecillius horrent dolorem et reformidant. Reliquis quidem licet facere id, quod fere faciunt, ut gravitatem dignitatemque virtutis exaggerent; quam cum ad caelum extulerunt, quod facere eloquentes homines copiose solent, reliqua ex conlatione facile est conterere atque contemnere. Nec enim licet iis, qui laudem cum dolore petendam esse dicant, negare eos esse beatos, qui illam adepti sunt. Quamquam enim sint in quibusdam malis, tamen hoc nomen beati longe et late patet. **31.** 86. Nam ut quaestuosa mercatura, fructuosa aratio dicitur, non si altera semper omni damno, altera omni tempestatis calamitate semper vacat, sed si multo maiore ex parte exstat in utraque felicitas, sic vita non solum si undique referta bonis est, sed si multo maiore et graviore ex parte bona propendent, beata recte dici potest. 87. Sequetur igitur horum ratione vel ad supplicium beata vita virtutem cumque ea descendet in taurum Aristotele, Xenocrate, Speusippo, Polemone auctoribus nec eam minis, blandimentis corrupta deseret. Eadem Calliphontis erit Diodorique sententia, quorum uterque honestatem sic complecitur, ut omnia, quae sine ea sint, longe retro ponenda censeat.

Reliqui habere se videntur angustius, enatant tamen,— Epicurus, Hieronymus, et si qui sunt, qui desertum illud Carneadeum curent defendere. Nemo est enim eorum, quin bonorum animum putet esse iudicem eumque *docefaciat, ut ea,* quae bona malave videantur, possit

contemnere. 88. Nam quae tibi Epicuri videtur, eadem erit Hieronymi et Carneadis causa et hercule omnium reliquorum. Quis enim parum est contra mortem aut dolorem paratus? Ordiamur ab eo, si placet, quem mollem, quem voluptarium dicimus.

Quid? is tibi mortemne videtur aut dolorem timere, qui eum diem, quo moritur, beatum appellat, maxumisque doloribus adfectus, eos ipsos inventorum suorum memoria et recordatione confutat nec haec sic agit, ut ex tempore quasi effutire videatur? De morte enim ita sentit, ut dissoluto animante sensum extinctum putet, quod autem sensu careat, nihil ad nos id iudicet pertinere. Item de dolore certa habet, quae sequatur; — cuius magnitudinem brevitate consolatur, longinquitatem levitate. 89. Qui tandem isti grandiloqui contra haec duo, quae maxime angunt, melius se habent quam Epicurus? an ad cetera, quae mala putantur, non et Epicurus et reliqui philosophi satis parati videntur? Quis non paupertatem extimescit? neque tamen quisquam philosophorum. 32. Hic vero ipse quam parvo est contentus! Nemo de tenui victu plura dixit. Etenim, quae res pecuniae cupiditatem adferunt, ut amori, ut ambitioni, ut cotidianis sumptibus copiae suppetant, — cum procul ab his omnibus rebus absit, cur pecuniam magnopere desideret vel potius cur curet omnino? 90. An Scythes Anacharsis potuit pro nihilo pecuniam ducere, nostrates philosophi facere non potuerunt? Illius epistula fertur his verbis: 'Anacharsis Hannoni salutem. Mihi amictui est Scythicum tegimen, calciamentum solorum callum, cubile terra, pulpamentum fames; lacte, caseo, *carne vescor.* Quare ut ad quietum me licet venias. *Munera autem* ista, quibus es delectatus, vel civibus tuis

vel dis immortalibus dona.' Omnes fere philosophi omnium disciplinarum, nisi quos a recta ratione natura vitiosa detorsisset, eodem hoc animo esse potuerunt. **91.** Socrates, in pompa cum magna vis auri argentique ferretur, 'Quam multa non desidero!' inquit. Xenocrates, cum legati ab Alexandro quinquaginta ei talenta attulissent, quae erat pecunia temporibus illis, Athenis praesertim, maxuma, abduxit legatos ad cenam in Academiam; iis apposuit tantum, quod satis esset, nullo apparatu. Cum postridie rogarent eum, cui numerari iuberet, 'Quid? vos hesterna,' inquit, 'cenula non intellexistis me pecunia non egere?' Quos cum tristiores vidisset, triginta minas accepit, ne aspernari regis liberalitatem videretur. **92.** At vero Diogenes liberius, ut Cynicus, Alexandro roganti, ut diceret, si quid opus esset, 'Nunc quidem paululum,' inquit, 'a sole.' Offecerat videlicet apricanti. Et hic quidem disputare solebat, quanto regem Persarum vita fortunaque superaret; sibi nihil deesse, illi nihil satis umquam fore; se eius voluptates non desiderare, quibus numquam satiari ille posset, suas eum consequi nullo modo posse.

33. **93.** Vides, credo, ut Epicurus cupiditatum genera diviserit, non nimis fortasse subtiliter, utiliter tamen, partim esse naturales et necessarias, partim naturales et non necessarias, partim neutrum; necessarias satiari posse paene nihilo; divitias enim naturae esse parabiles; secundum autem genus cupiditatum nec ad potiendum difficile esse censet nec vero ad carendum; tertias, quod essent plane inanes neque necessitatem modo, sed ne naturam quidem attingerent, funditus eiciendas putavit. **94.** Hoc loco multa ab Epicureis disputantur, eaeque *voluptates singillatim* extenuantur quarum genera non

contemnunt, quaerunt tamen copiam. Nam et obscenas voluptates, de quibus multa ab illis habetur oratio, facilis, communis, in medio sitas esse dicunt, easque si natura requirat, non genere aut loco aut ordine, sed forma, aetate, figura metiendas putant, ab iisque abstinere minime esse difficile, si aut valetudo aut officium aut fama postulet, omninoque genus hoc voluptatum optabile esse, si non obsit, prodesse numquam. 95. Totumque hoc de voluptate sic ille praecipit, ut voluptatem ipsam per se, quia voluptas sit, semper optandam et expetendam putet, eademque ratione dolorem ob id ipsum, quia dolor sit, semper esse fugiendum; itaque hac usurum compensatione sapientem, ut et voluptatem fugiat, si ea maiorem dolorem effectura sit, et dolorem suscipiat maiorem efficientem voluptatem: 96. omniaque iucunda, quamquam sensu corporis iudicentur, ad animum referri tamen; quocirca corpus gaudere tam diu, dum praesentem sentiret voluptatem, animum et praesentem percipere pariter cum corpore et prospicere venientem nec praeteritam praeterfluere sinere; ita perpetuas et contextas voluptates in sapiente fore semper, cum expectatio speratarum voluptatum cum perceptarum memoria iungeretur.

34. 97. Atque his similia ad victum etiam transferuntur, extenuaturque magnificentia et sumptus epularum, quod parvo cultu natura contenta sit. Etenim quis hoc non videt, desideriis omnia ista condiri? Darius in fuga cum aquam turbidam et cadaveribus inquinatam bibisset, negavit umquam se bibisse iucundius. Numquam videlicet sitiens biberat. Nec esuriens Ptolomaeus ederat; cui cum peragranti Aegyptum, comitibus non consecutis, *cibarius* in casa panis datus esset, nihil visum est illo pane *iucundius*. Socraten ferunt, cum usque ad vesperum

contentius ambularet quaesitumque esset ex eo, quare id faceret, respondisse se, quo melius cenaret, obsonare ambulando famem. **98.** Quid? victum Lacedaemoniorum in philitiis nonne videmus? Ubi cum tyrannus cenavisset Dionysius, negavit se iure illo nigro, quod cenae caput erat, delectatum. Tum is, qui illa coxerat: 'Minime mirum; condimenta enim defuerunt.' 'Quae tandem?' inquit ille. 'Labor in venatu, sudor, cursus ad Eurotam, fames, sitis. His enim rebus Lacedaemoniorum epulae condiuntur.' Atque hoc non ex hominum more solum, sed etiam ex bestiis intellegi potest, quae, ut quicquid obiectum est, quod modo a natura non sit alienum, eo contentae non quaerunt amplius. **99.** Civitates quaedam universae more doctae parsimonia delectantur, ut de Lacedaemoniis paulo ante diximus. Persarum a Xenophonte victus exponitur; quos negat ad panem adhibere quicquam praeter nasturcium. (Quamquam, si quaedam etiam suaviora natura desideret, quam multa ex terra arboribusque gignuntur cum copia facili, tum suavitate praestanti!) **100.** Adde siccitatem, quae consequitur hanc continentiam in victu, adde integritatem valetudinis, confer sudantis, ructantis, refertos epulis tamquam opimos boves; tum intelleges, qui voluptatem maxime sequantur, eos minime consequi, iucunditatemque victus esse in desiderio, non in satietate. **35.** Timotheum, clarum hominem Athenis et principem civitatis, ferunt, cum cenavisset apud Platonem eoque convivio admodum delectatus esset vidissetque eum postridie, dixisse: 'Vestrae quidem cenae non solum in praesentia, sed etiam postero die iucundae sunt.'

Quid, *quod ne mente* quidem recte uti possumus multo *cibo et potione completi?* Est praeclara epistula Pla-

tonis ad Dionis propinquos, in qua scriptum est his fere verbis: 'Quo cum venissem, vita illa beata, quae ferebatur, plena Italicarum Syracusiarumque mensarum, nullo modo mihi placuit, bis in die saturum fieri nec umquam pernoctare solum ceteraque, quae comitantur huic vitae, in qua sapiens nemo efficietur umquam, moderatus vero multo minus. Quae enim natura tam mirabiliter temperari potest?' 101. Quo modo igitur iucunda vita potest esse, a qua absit prudentia, absit moderatio? Ex quo Sardanapalli, opulentissimi Syriae regis, error adgnoscitur, qui incidi iussit in busto:

Haec habeo, quae edi, quaeque exsaturata libido
Hausit; at illa iacent multa et praeclara relicta.

'Quid aliud,' inquit Aristoteles, 'in bovis, non in regis sepulcro inscriberes? Haec habere se mortuum dicit, quae ne vivus quidem diutius habebat quam fruebatur.'

102. Cur igitur divitiae desiderentur aut ubi paupertas beatos esse non sinit? Signis, credo, et tabulis studes. Si quis est, qui his delectetur, nonne melius tenues homines fruuntur quam illi, qui iis abundant? Est enim earum rerum omnium in nostra urbe summa in publico copia. Quae qui privatim habent, nec tam multa et raro vident, — cum in sua rura venerunt; quos tamen pungit aliquid, cum, illa unde habeant, recordantur. Dies deficiat, si velim paupertatis causam defendere. Aperta enim res est, et cotidie nos ipsa natura admonet, quam paucis, quam parvis rebus egeat, quam vilibus.

36. 103. Num igitur ignobilitas aut humilitas aut etiam popularis offensio sapientem beatum esse prohibebit? *Vide*, ne plus commendatio in vulgus et haec quae *expetitur* gloria molestiae habeat quam voluptatis.

Leviculus sane noster Demosthenes, qui illo susurro delectari se dicebat aquam ferentis mulierculae, ut mos in Graecia est, insusurrantisque alteri: 'Hic est ille Demosthenes.' Quid hoc levius? At quantus orator! Sed apud alios loqui videlicet didicerat, non multum ipse secum. **104.** Intellegendum est igitur nec gloriam popularem ipsam per sese expetendam nec ignobilitatem extimescendam. 'Veni Athenas,' inquit Democritus, 'neque me quisquam ibi adgnovit.' Constantem hominem et gravem, qui glorietur a gloria se afuisse! An tibicines iique, qui fidibus utuntur, suo, non multitudinis arbitrio cantus numerosque moderantur, vir sapiens, multo arte maiore praeditus, non quid verissimum sit, sed quid velit vulgus, exquiret? An quicquam stultius quam, quos singulos sicut operarios barbarosque contemnas, eos aliquid putare esse universos? **105.** Ille vero nostras ambitiones levitatesque contemnet honoresque populi etiam ultro delatos repudiabit; nos autem eos nescimus, ante quam paenitere coepit, contemnere. Est apud Heraclitum physicum de principe Ephesiorum Hermodoro; universos ait Ephesios esse morte multandos, quod, cum civitate expellerent Hermodorum, ita locuti sint: 'Nemo de nobis unus excellat; sin quis extiterit, alio in loco et apud alios sit.' An hoc non ita fit omni in populo? nonne omnem exsuperantiam virtutis oderunt? Quid? Aristides (malo enim Graecorum quam nostra proferre) nonne ob eam causam expulsus est patria, quod praeter modum iustus esset? Quantis igitur molestiis vacant, qui nihil omnino cum populo contrahunt! Quid est enim dulcius otio litterato? iis dico litteris, *quibus infinitatem* rerum atque naturae et in hoc *ipso mundo caelum, terras,* maria cognoscimus.

37. 106. Contempto igitur honore, contempta etiam pecunia, quid relinquitur quod extimescendum sit? Exilium, credo, quod in maxumis malis ducitur. Id si propter alienam et offensam populi voluntatem malum est, quam sit ea contemnenda, paulo ante dictum est. Sin abesse patria miserum est, plenae miserorum provinciae sunt, ex quibus admodum pauci in patriam revertuntur. 107. At multantur bonis exules. Quid tum? parumne multa de toleranda paupertate dicuntur? Iam vero exilium, si rerum naturam, non ignominiam nominis quaerimus, quantum tandem a perpetua peregrinatione differt? in qua aetates suas philosophi nobilissimi consumpserunt, Xenocrates, Crantor, Arcesilas, Lacydes, Aristoteles, Theophrastus, Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Antipater, Carneades, Clitomachus, Philo, Antiochus, Panaetius, Posidonius, innumerabiles alii; qui semel egressi numquam domum reverterunt. At enim sine ignominia. An potest quicquam ignominia adficere sapientem? De sapiente enim haec omnis oratio est, cui iure id accidere non possit; nam iure exulantem consolari non oportet. 108. Postremo ad omnis casus facillima ratio est eorum, qui ad voluptatem ea referunt, quae sequuntur in vita, ut, quocumque haec loco suppeditetur, ibi beate queant vivere; itaque ad omnem rationem Teucri vox accommodari potest:

Pátria est, ubicumque ést bene.

Socrates quidem cum rogaretur, cuiatem se esse diceret, 'Mundanum' inquit; totius enim mundi se incolam et civem arbitrabatur. Quid? T. Albucius nonne animo *aequissimo* Athenis exul philosophabatur? (cui tamen *illud ipsum* non accidisset, si in re publica quiescens

Epicuri legibus paruisset.) 109. Qui enim beatior Epicurus, quod in patria vivebat, quam, quod Athenis, Metrodorus? aut Plato Xenocratem vincebat aut Polemo Arcesilam, quo esset beatior? Quanti vero ista civitas aestimanda est, ex qua boni sapientesque pelluntur? Damaratus quidem, Tarquinii nostri regis pater, tyrannum Cypselum quod ferre non poterat, fugit Tarquinios Corintho et ibi suas fortunas constituit ac liberos procreavit. Num stulte anteposuit exilii liberatem domesticae servituti?

38. 110. Iam vero motus animi, sollicitudines aegritudinesque oblivione leniuntur traductis animis ad voluptatem. Non sine causa igitur Epicurus ausus est dicere semper in pluribus bonis esse sapientem, quia semper sit in voluptatibus. Ex quo effici putat ille quod quaerimus, ut sapiens semper beatus sit. 111. Etiamne, si sensibus carebit oculorum, si aurium? Etiam; nam ista ipsa contemnit. Primum enim horribilis ista caecitas quibus tandem caret voluptatibus? cum quidam etiam disputent ceteras voluptates in ipsis habitare sensibus, quae autem aspectu percipiantur, ea non versari in oculorum ulla iucunditate, ut ea, quae gustemus, olfaciamus, tractemus, audiamus, in ea ipsa, ubi sentimus, parte versentur. In oculis tale nil fit; animus accipit, quae videmus. Animo autem multis modis variisque delectari licet, etiamsi non adhibeatur aspectus. Loquor enim de docto homine et erudito, cui vivere est cogitare. Sapientis autem cogitatio non ferme ad investigandum adhibet oculos advocatos. 112. Etenim si nox non adimit vitam beatam, cur dies nocti similis adimat? Nam illud Antipatri *Cyrenaici est* id quidem paulo obscenius, sed *non absurda sententia* est; cuius caecitatem cum mulier-

culae lamentarentur, 'Quid agitis?' inquit; 'an vobis nulla videtur voluptas esse nocturna?' Appium quidem veterem illum, qui caecus annos multos fuit, et ex magistratibus et ex rebus gestis intellegimus in illo suo casu nec privato nec publico muneri defuisse. C. Drusi domum compleri a consultoribus solitam accepimus — cum, quorum res esset, sua ipsi non videbant, caecum adhibebant ducem. Pueris nobis Cn. Aufidius praetorius et in senatu sententiam dicebat nec amicis deliberantibus derat et Graecam scribebat historiam et videbat in litteris. **39. 113.** Diodotus Stoicus caecus multos annos nostrae domi vixit. Is vero, quod credibile vix esset, cum in philosophia multo etiam magis adsidue quam antea versaretur et cum fidibus Pythagoreorum more uteretur, cumque ei libri noctes et dies legerentur, quibus in studiis oculis non egebat, tum, quod sine oculis fieri posse vix videtur, geometriae munus tuebatur verbis praecipiens discentibus, unde quo quamque lineam scriberent. Asclepiadem ferunt, non ignobilem Eretricum philosophum, cum quidam quaereret, quid ei caecitas attulisset, respondisse, puero ut uno esset comitatior. Ut enim vel summa paupertas tolerabilis sit, si liceat, quod quibusdam Graecis cotidie, sic caecitas ferri facile possit, si non desint subsidia valetudinum. **114.** Democritus luminibus amissus alba scilicet discernere et atra non poterat, at vero bona mala, aequa iniqua, honesta turpia, utilia inutilia, magna parva poterat, et sine varietate colorum licebat vivere beate, sine notione rerum non licebat. Atque hic vir impediri etiam animi aciem aspectu oculorum arbitrabatur, et cum alii saepe, quod ante pedes esset, *non viderent,* ille in infinitatem omnem peregrinabatur, *ut nulla in* extremitate consisteret. Traditum est etiam

Homerum caecum fuisse; at eius picturam, non poësin videmus. Quae regio, quae ora, qui locus Graeciae, quae species formaque pugnae, quae acies, quod remigium, qui motus hominum, qui ferarum non ita expictus est, ut, quae ipse non viderit, nos ut videremus, effecerit? 115. Quid ergo? aut Homero delectationem animi ac voluptatem aut cuiquam docto defuisse umquam arbitramur? Aut, ni ita se res haberet, Anaxagoras aut hic ipse Democritus agros et patrimonia sua reliquissent, huic discendi quaerendique divinae delectationi toto se animo dedissent? Itaque augŭrem Tiresiam, quem sapientem fingunt poëtae, numquam inducunt deplorantem caecitatem suam. At vero Polyphemum Homerus cum inmanem ferumque finxisset, cum ariete etiam conloquentem facit eiusque laudare fortunas, quod, qua vellet, ingredi posset et, quae vellet, attingere. Recte hic quidem; nihilo enim erat ipse Cyclops quam aries ille prudentior. 40. 116. In surditate vero quidnam est mali? Erat surdaster M. Crassus, sed aliud molestius, quod male audiebat, etiamsi, ut mihi videbatur, iniuria. Nostri Graece fere nesciunt nec Graeci Latine. Ergo hi in illorum et illi in horum sermone surdi, omnesque item nos in iis linguis, quas non intellegimus, quae sunt innumerabiles, surdi profecto sumus. At vocem citharoedi non audiunt. Ne stridorem quidem serrae, tum cum acuitur, aut grunnitum, cum iugulatur, suis nec, cum quiescere volunt, fremitum murmurantis maris; et si cantus eos forte delectant, primum cogitare debent, ante quam hi sint inventi, multos beate vixisse sapientes, deinde multo maiorem percipi posse legendis his quam audiendis voluptatem. *Tum, ut* paulo ante caecos ad aurium *traducebamus voluptatem, sic* licet surdos ad oculorum. Etenim,

qui secum loqui poterit, sermonem alterius non requiret.

117. Congerantur in unum omnia, ut idem oculis et auribus captus sit, prematur etiam doloribus acerrumis corporis. Qui primum per se ipsi plerumque conficiunt hominem; sin forte longinquitate producti vehementius tamen torquent, quam ut causa sit, cur ferantur, quid est tandem, di boni, quod laboremus? Portus enim praesto est, [quoniam mors ibidem est] aeternum nihil sentiendi receptaculum. Theodorus Lysimacho mortem minitanti 'Magnum vero,' inquit, 'effecisti, si cantharidis vim consecutus es.' Paulus Persi deprecanti, ne in triumpho duceretur, 'In tua id quidem potestate est.' 118. Multa primo die, cum de ipsa morte quaereremus, non pauca etiam postero, cum ageretur de dolore, sunt dicta de morte; quae qui recordetur, haud sane periculum est, ne non mortem aut optandam aut certe non timendam putet. 41. Mihi quidem in vita servanda videtur illa lex, quae in Graecorum conviviis obtinetur: 'Aut bibat,' inquit, 'aut abeat.' Et recte. Aut enim fruatur aliquis pariter cum aliis voluptate potandi aut, ne sobrius in violentiam vinulentorum incidat, ante discedat. Sic iniurias fortunae quas ferre nequeas defugiendo relinquas. Haec eadem, quae Epicurus, totidem verbis dicit Hieronymus.

119. Quodsi ii philosophi, quorum ea sententia est, ut virtus per se ipsa nihil valeat, omneque, quod honestum nos et laudabile esse dicimus, id illi cassum quiddam et inani vocis sono decoratum esse dicant, ei tamen semper beatum censent esse sapientem, quid tandem a Socrate et Platone profectis philosophis faciendum iudicas? *quorum alii* tantam praestantiam in bonis animi esse *dicunt, ut* ab his corporis et externa obscurentur, alii

autem haec ne bona quidem ducunt, in animo reponunt omnia. 120. Quorum controversiam solebat tamquam honorarius arbiter iudicare Carneades. Nam cum, quaecumque bona Peripateticis, eadem Stoicis commoda viderentur, neque tamen Peripatetici plus tribuerent divitiis, bonae valetudini, ceteris rebus generis eiusdem quam Stoici, cum ea re, non verbis ponderarentur, causam esse dissidendi negabat. Quare hunc locum ceterarum disciplinarum philosophi quem ad modum obtinere possint, ipsi viderint; mihi tamen gratum est, quod de sapientium perpetua bene vivendi facultate dignum quiddam philosophorum voce profitentur.

121. Sed quoniam mane est eundum, has quinque dierum disputationes memoria comprehendamus. Equidem me etiam conscripturum arbitror (ubi enim melius uti possumus hoc, cuicuimodi est, otio?), ad Brutumque nostrum hos libros alteros quinque mittemus, a quo non modo inpulsi sumus ad philosophiae scriptiones, verum etiam lacessiti. In quo quantum ceteris profuturi simus, non facile dixerim, nostris quidem acerbissimis doloribus variisque et undique circumfusis molestiis alia nulla potuit inveniri levatio.

NOTES

BOOK I

Page 1. 1. defensionum: Cicero's legal speeches were almost always for the defence.

2. essem aliquando liberatus: a rather euphemistic reference to the fact that he had been forced into retirement by the growth of Caesar's despotic power; *cf.* Introd. § 2.

3. Brute: Marcus Junius Brutus (the tyrannicide) was interested in philosophy in a general literary way (*cf.* Introd. § 23). He had written a work, *De Virtute*, and dedicated it to Cicero; in part payment of this literary debt each of these five books of the *Tusculan Disputations* is dedicated to him. Cicero not infrequently participated in the exchange of such literary courtesies; *cf. ad Fam.* iii. 9. 3 and ix. 8. 1.

4. temporibus: *because of circumstances;* namely, the duties which had devolved upon him as statesman, patriot, and lawyer. **longo intervallo intermissa**: *after long interruption.*

6. ratio et disciplina: *logical organization.*

7. studio sapientiae: a formal translation of φιλοσοφία; *cf. de Off.* ii. 2. 5: *nec quicquam aliud est philosophia, si interpretari velis, praeter studium sapientiae.* **quae**: agreeing with the predicate noun; see B. 250. 3, A. 306, G. 614. R. 3 (*b*), H. 396. 2. **contineretur**: *rests upon.* Even the expression of a general truth is not exempt from the operation of the law of sequence of tenses.

8. hoc mihi, etc.: *that I ought to increase the glory of this subject by writings in Latin; cf.* Introd. § 4.

9. non quia . . . posset: see B. 286. 1. *b*, A. 540. 2. N. 3, G. 541. N. 2, H. 588. 2. **doctoribus**: apparently a somewhat careless continuation of the construction of *litteris* (ablative of means).

12. quae quidem: *at least such things as*, introducing a restrictive clause. The verb of such clauses often stands in the subjunctive; see B. 283. 5, A. 535. *d*, G. 627. R. 1, and *cf.* H. 591. 3. The present *example, owing to the* indirect discourse, does not afford a clear test *of mood.*

13. elaborarent: the prefix has intensive force. Despite his patriotism Cicero admits that it was not easy to surpass the Greeks. **instituta**: *conventions.*

14. domesticas ac familiaris: *touching the private interests of the family.*

15. lautius: *in a manner more becoming.*

16. temperaverunt: *shaped.*

17. Quid: *why?*

18. Iam: *furthermore.*

Page 2. 1. litteris: *culture.* **cum Graecia**: *with (those of) Greece*, an example of the *comparatio compendiaria* or short-cut comparison; so at line 5.

2. Quae, etc.: the sentence is best rendered by substituting 'where' for the interrogative adjective.

3. gravitas: *moral weight.*

4. tam excellens in omni genere: *sc. rerum*, i.e. *so prĕeminent in every aspect.*

7. non repugnantes: *those not competing.*

9. fuit: *lived.* This verb is frequently thus used to note the bare fact of historical existence; if the manner or length of life is in question, *vivere* is employed. Cicero apparently accepted the chronology which places Homer in the ninth century B.C.; at any rate he speaks of Homer and Lycurgus as contemporaries, p. 86. 27.[1] Hesiod probably lived somewhat later than this.

10. Archilochus: a lyric poet of Greece who brought iambic verse to artistic perfection. He seems to have lived a century later than Cicero here assumes.

11. serius: *rather late*, the absolute use of the comparative.

12. fabulam dedit: the production of this play in 240 B.C. marks the beginning of Roman drama. The writer of the play, Livius Andronicus, was by birth a Greek, and had been brought to Rome as a captive about 272 B.C. After gaining his freedom he became a school teacher, and made a translation of the *Odyssey* into Latin verse which long served as a text-book in the Roman elementary schools. In his plays he followed Greek originals closely.

13. Ennium: the services which Ennius rendered to the cause of Latin literature have earned for him the name of father of Roman poetry. In some respects he stands in marked contrast to his prede-

[1] *This and like* references are to page and line of the text of this edition.

cessor, Livius Andronicus; for he was born of Italian stock and brought an intense patriotism to his work, feeling that he was coming to Rome as an apostle of culture. It is true that his literary inspiration was drawn largely from Greek sources, but his personality and nationality make themselves felt in his writings. The most important of these, the *Annals*, was a history of Rome in hexameter verse — a measure to whose music he adapted the Latin language.

14. qui fuit maior, etc.: apparently a marginal comment on *Livius* (line 12), wrongly placed when later it found its way into the text. For Plautus (about 252–184 B.C.) and Naevius (about 270–199 B.C.) both preceded Ennius (239–169 B.C.). All three continued the practice, begun by Livius Andronicus, of writing dramas based on Greek originals.

15. recepti: said with reference to the fact that these early poets were not of Roman birth. Curiously enough nearly all the great names of Latin literature are those of men from outlying districts. **quam-quam**: in the corrective sense. Thus used the word rectifies the preceding statement or guards against an inference which the hearer might draw from that statement.

16. est: *it is stated.* **Originibus**: the title of an important but, unfortunately, lost historical work of Cato the Elder (234–149 B.C.), a contemporary of Ennius. It was thus named because it included an account of the early history of the various states of Italy. Previous prose historians among the Romans had written in Greek; Cato broke with this tradition and wrote the *Origines* in Latin. **ad tibicinem**: *to the accompaniment of a flute-player.*

17. de clarorum hominum virtutibus: the custom of singing such ballads doubtless dates from a very remote antiquity. Macaulay, in the *Lays of Ancient Rome*, has attempted to reproduce the atmosphere and spirit of these lost poems glorifying the deeds of the heroes of early Roman history. In Greece the singing of κλέα ἀνδρῶν provided a foundation on which epic poetry later was built.

18. huic generi: *i.e.* poets. **declarat oratio Catonis**: the following citation from the speech does not by any means justify the inference which Cicero draws from it. It simply shows that Cato sided with the party opposed to the introduction of Greek culture as championed by Ennius (*cf.* Introd. § 1), the picture of Cato drawn in *de Senectute* being probably not very true to life in this particular; *cf.* Cicero's half apology there (1. 3).

19. in provinciam: *i.e.* on his campaign. Aetolia was not made

part of a Roman province until some forty years later (146 B.C.); hence *provincia* is probably here used in its fundamental sense 'sphere of action.'

20. poetas: *i.e.* Ennius (see line 21). The plural reflects Cato's scorn or impatience. Examples of this sort are not uncommon, especially in early Latin; *e.g.* Plautus, *Men.* 321–322: *Quas mulieres, quos tu parasitos loquere?* Ennius accompanied Nobilior into Aetolia that he might better record his exploits. **autem**: marking an explanation. In such connections English uses 'for.' **consul**: *when consul, i.e.* in 189 B.C.

22. si qui magnis ingeniis, etc.: for the phrasing, *cf. de Off.* i. 21. 71: *qui excellenti ingenio doctrinae sese dediderunt.*

23. genere: *cf. generi* in line 18. **non satis . . . responderunt**: *did they fail to measure up; cf. in Cat.* ii. 11. 24: *urbes coloniarum . . . respondebunt Catilinae tumulis silvestribus.*

24. Fabio: *sc. Pictori;* the cognomen *Pictor* was given him because of his decoration of the temple of *Salus* about 300 B.C. The historian Q. Fabius Pictor was his grandson.

25. nobilissimo: *most distinguished.* Note that *nobilis* and *nosco* are from the same stem. **laudi**: see B. 191. 1, A. 382. 1, G. 356. R. 2, H. 433. 2. **quod**: both *quod* and *quia* frequently introduce substantive clauses; here the rendering is 'that.'

26. multos . . . Polyclitos et Parrhasios: *many a Polyclitus and Parrhasius*, a generalizing use of the plural. Polyclitus and Parrhasius were artists of note, the former a sculptor, the latter a painter. They both lived about 400 B.C.

28. iacent: *lie neglected.*

30. nervorum: *strings.* The whole phrase *nervorum vocumque cantibus* might fairly be rendered 'instrumental and vocal music.' For the plural *cantibus*, see B. 55. 4. *c*, A. 100. *c*, G. 204. N. 5, H. 138. 2. Music occupied an important place in the elementary schools of the Greeks.

31. princeps . . . Graeciae: *the first man of Greece*, said with reference to ability in statesmanship and war. In these departments Epaminondas certainly ranked high. Under his leadership Thebes for the time being became a first-class power. His name is again linked with that of Themistocles, the famous Athenian, pp. 15. 22–23 and 49. 1–2.

32. cecinisse: this word is used indifferently of instrumental and vocal music; *cf. de Div.* ii. 59. 122: *si velim canere vel voce vel fidibus.* *Note also the* use of *cantibus*, line 30.

Page 3. 1. recusaret lyram: the instrument was passed from hand to hand, each guest being expected to provide his share of the entertainment; *cf.* p. 2. 16. **indoctior**: *cf. serius*, p. 2. 11, note.

2. id: *i.e.* music.

4. nihil mathematicis inlustrius: this sentence conforms to the principle that when in sweeping negations and in rhetorical questions equivalent thereto the first term of a comparison stands in the nominative or accusative, the ablative (rather than the *quam*-construction) is regularly used with the comparative. Note here also the idiomatic use of the neuter.

5. utilitate . . . terminavimus modum: *i.e. we have limited this art to the practical uses* (*of*), etc. Strictly the ablative is one of means; *cf. de Off.* iii. 33. 117: *qui bona voluptate terminaverit* (*i.e.* who counts pleasure the only good).

7. contra: here adverb. **nec eum . . . tamen**: *not, to be sure. . . . but; cf. illis quidem . . . sed*, lines 19–20.

9. Galbam: *i.e.* Servius Sulpicius Galba, consul 144 B.C. Among Roman orators he is said to have been the first to introduce conscious art into speaking. **Africanum**: the Younger. Gaius Laelius here mentioned was his intimate friend and a man noted for literary and philosophical tastes. The friendship between the two Cicero has immortalized by his treatise *de Amicitia*.

10. studiosum: not implying (in this context) the same degree of culture as *doctus*.

11. Catonem: one of his speeches is mentioned at p. 2. 18. **post**: the adverb. **Lepidum**: Marcus Aemilius Lepidus Porcina, consul 137 B.C., was the greatest orator of his day, and teacher of Gaius Papirius Carbo, who is also here mentioned. With *post vero*, etc., something like *extitisse* must be supplied. A shift to direct discourse at this point would have much improved the sentence.

13. Graecis cederetur: *did they fall below the standard set by the Greeks.* The verb is impersonal, and (*non*) *multum* and *nihil* are adverbial accusatives.

15. lumen: *luster* (*from*). **inlustranda**: *brought into the light; cf. inlustrandum*, p. 1. 8.

17. otiosi: fond as Cicero was of literary pursuits, his present enforced leisure was anything but welcome; see Introd. § 2.

18. elaborandum: *cf.* p. 1. 13, note.

19. dicuntur: Cicero does not himself deign to read the books; *cf. p. 56. 26 ff.* **optimis illis quidem viris**: excellent men, 'tis

true. Here, as often, *optimus* is a term of faint praise, expressing the speaker's contempt; *cf.* Cicero's own dissatisfaction with the phrase *optimus consul* as applied to himself (*ad Att.* xii. 21. 1). The individuals here referred to are Epicureans such as Gaius Amafinius, persons with whose views Cicero had little sympathy, and whose style of presentation he misses few opportunities to criticise; *cf.* Introd. § 3. A pronoun (as *illis* in this passage) regularly accompanies *quidem* when an adversative clause is to follow.

20. autem: *cf. autem*, p. 2. 20, note.

21. ut recte quis sentiat: *that a man's view be sound.* **et**: in the sense of *et tamen*.

22. quemquam: *any one* (at all). This word occurs most frequently in sentences of negative import; so also the corresponding adjective *ullus*.

28. oratoriae: genitive, agreeing with *laudis*. **attulimus**: *sc. patriae*.

29. illa: *i.e.* successes in the field of oratory; *cf.* the loose use of the neuter (*id*) in line 2. The whole passage is an incidental tribute to the educational value of the study of philosophy; see Introd. § 1.

31. Aristoteles; see Introd. §§ 7 and 8.

32. copia: *eloquence; cf. copiose*, p. 4. 5. **Isocratis**: born at Athens in 436 B.C., Isocrates became famous as a teacher of oratory. He spoke little in public himself, but composed speeches for others and developed a written style that profoundly affected subsequent literary prose. **dicere**: replacing a second accusative (*e.g. artem dicendi*) with *docere* of the following line.

Page 4. **1. prudentiam**: here, *philosophy*. The word is frequently used of legal knowledge; *cf.* 'jurisprudence.'

6. in quam exercitationem: *and to practice in this*. A relative or demonstrative in agreement is often best thus rendered by a phrase: *cf. Haec . . . pulchritudo*, p. 20. 26.

7. scholas: *lectures*. On the plan and setting of the *Tusculan Disputations;* see Introd. § 19.

8. ut: *as, for example*. **discessum**: to meet Caesar on his victorious return from Spain in 45 B.C. **Tusculano**: *sc. praedio*.

10. declamitabam causas: referring to his youthful training in arguing fictitious cases for practice; *cf. Brutus* 90. 310: *Commentabar declamitans*.

11. me: for the case, *cf.* p. 3. 4, note.

12. Ponere: the indefinite subject of the infinitive is attracted into the relative clause, appearing there as *quis; cf. de Off.* i. 16. 52: *pati ab igne ignem capere, si qui velit*, and *ibid.* iii. 4. 19.

13. vellet: the mood is due to the feeling of indirect discourse emanating from *iubebam*. **ad id**: *with this as a topic; cf.* the phrase 'speak *to* a question.'

15. Fiebat . . . ita: *our method of procedure was.*

17. Socratica ratio . . . disserendi: the salient feature of Socrates' method, however, was that he did not advocate his own view directly, but endeavored to bring his hearer to it by asking him leading questions — a procedure incompatible with the lecture plan here adopted (see line 7, note), though in the short opening discussion it is approximated somewhat.

19. veri simillimum: see Introd. § 15, and p. 88. 19, note.

21. sic . . . quasi agatur res, etc.: *as though actually in progress, (and) not as a narrative.*

23. The abbreviation *A.* marks the words of the young man who acts as spokesman of the class, while Cicero's replies are designated by *M.* These letters are probably abbreviations for *Auditor* and *Magister* respectively, *i.e.* 'Student' and 'Lecturer.'

Page 5. **2. tibi constare**: *be consistent.*

5. moriendum esset . . . viverent: for the sequence, see B. 268. 5, A. 485. *h*, G. 517 R. 2, H. 547. **tu quidem**: *cf.* note on *quidem*, p. 3. 19.

13. illa: *those marvels*, expanded and explained by the words immediately following. The neuter forms of *ille* with great frequency thus refer forward.

14. Cerberus: the watch-dog of the world below. Sometimes as many as a hundred heads are assigned to him. **Cocyti**: the river of wailing. **Acherontis**: the stream over which the shades pass in Charon's skiff.

15. Mento, etc.: iambic trimeter. The source of the verse is unknown. **aquam**: here treated as a word of three syllables.

16. Tantalus: said to have been thus punished because he betrayed secrets communicated to him by his father Zeus. **illud**: modifier of *Saxum* (line 18).

17. Sisyphus: king of Corinth, thus punished because of his deceit and avarice. *Final s here, as often in early Latin, exerts no influence in the matter of length of syllable.* The citation is probably from *Lucilius.*

18. neque . . . hilum: *and . . . nothing; cf. nihilum, nihil.*

20. L. Crassus . . . M. Antonius: famous orators of the preceding generation. Being now dead, they might be conceived of as dwelling in the lower world.

21. quoniam: (*and this I say*) *since.*

22. adhibere: in the legal sense, *retain the services of.*

23. maxima corona: *before a mighty throng* (*i.e.* of interested shades); *cf. spissae coronae*, Horace, *Ep.* ii. 3. 381. The ablative is one of attendant circumstance.

25. ista: *that sort of thing.* The use of this pronoun as expressive of contempt is common; see also p. 6. 15, note. **esse**: *really exists.*

26. An: *what!* the question being spoken in a tone of surprise.

28. Male hercule narras: *I'm exceedingly sorry to hear that.*

Page 6. **1. enim**: *indeed*, a meaning of the word frequently met with in early Latin. **non**: *sc. posset* (for mood and tense, *cf. offerret*, p. 15. 22, note).

2. haec . . . portenta convincere: *discredit these marvels.*

4. pleni libri sunt . . . philosophorum: *there are books full* (*of such matter*) *written by philosophers*, etc.

8. Si ergo: *if then, as you say.* **miseri**: predicate adjective; *homines* may be supplied as subject. **ne . . . quidem**: strictly, *not . . . either*, a very common meaning of the phrase. The addition here of *ulli* at the end of the sentence complicates the translation: *none have existence either* (*cf. esse*, p. 5. 25). The thought is, granting that souls suffer no distress in the lower world, it follows that none have existence there either (comfort being out of the question in such surroundings).

14. ne . . . quidem: see preceding note.

15. Prorsus isto modo: *precisely as you put it.* Here, as often, *iste* is used as the pronoun of the second person (*i.e.* in designating something connected with the person addressed).

16. nulli sint: somewhat more forceful than *non sint* would be. Such phrases are common in colloquial language.

17. Iam: *now*, in a weak colloquial sense, but a step removed from 'really'; *cf. si iam* at p. 22. 32, and the use of *nunc* at p. 73. 28. Another weak sense of *iam* is seen in Livy i. 1. 1: *Iam primum omnium.*

21. miserum: predicate adjective; the implied subject of the *infinitive is aliquem mortuum.*

23. Non sum ita hebes, etc.: the difficulty throughout this passage is due to the fact that the speakers are not talking about the same thing. *M.* uses *miser* in the sense 'in distress,' whereas to *A.* it means 'in a pitiable plight.' The two things, of course, sometimes go hand in hand, but not necessarily so; *e.g.* an insane person is in a pitiable plight, but he may not feel any distress about his own state. So *A.* thinks of annihilated dead, not as in a state of suffering, but as experiencing a fate inexpressibly sad for those who have once known 'the warm precincts of the cheerful day' (*cf. de Fin.* v. 11. 32: *ipsa relinquenda luce*). He does not, however, succeed in making his thought clear to *M.*, and this part of the discussion is therefore eminently unsatisfactory.

24. dicis: *mean.*

25. verbi causa: *for instance.* **illas fortunas**: Crassus' riches rendered appropriate his cognomen *Dives.*

26. dimiserit: not, of course, with the implication that the loss was voluntary.

29. eodem: *to the same point.* *Cf. eo*, 'thither'; *quo*, 'whither'; *utroque*, 'in both directions,' etc. **oportet**: *must*, said with reference to the cogent force of logic — a well-established use of this verb.

30. modo: *just now.* **negabas**: very often *negare* must be rendered by 'say that . . . not,' or the like. **esse**: *cf. esse*, p. 5. 25.

31. nihil possunt esse: *i.e.* they can have no attributes. **ita**: in the sense of *itaque.* **ne . . . quidem**: see line 8, note.

Page 7. **1. Non . . . etiam**: *not yet.*

4. Ita: *on that basis.*

8. ecquid: *whether . . . anything.* This pronoun is both interrogative and indefinite.

9. dicam: *cf. dicis*, p. 6. 24. For the mood and tense, see B. 307. 2, A. 524, G. 602, H. 584. 3.

10. et non: *and not (that).*

11. Esse: *cf. esse*, p. 5. 25.

12. Immo: *nay rather.* **eo**: *for that reason.* The word stands in correlation with *quia.*

14. non modo: when followed by an adversative clause, as here, *non modo* may often be conveniently rendered 'I do not say.' **omnino quicquam**: *cf. quemquam*, p. 3. 22, note.

***15. esse**: sc. eum.* **porta Capena**: on the southeast side of

Rome, leading out upon the Appian Way, a road still lined with ancient tombs.

16. Calatini: *i.e.* Aulus Atilius Calatinus, a hero of the first Punic war, dictator in 249 B.C.

18. me verbo premis: *your attack upon me turns on a word; i.e.* the word *esse*. Up to this point *A.* has been trying without success to make clear that he is using *miser* in the sense 'in a pitiable plight' (*cf.* p. 6. 23, note). Since *M.* will understand the word only as meaning 'in distress' and insists that, if the dead are in distress (*miseros esse*), they must therefore be in existence (*esse*), *A.* tries the weak expedient of omitting the word *esse* from his statements. When later driven from this subterfuge by *M.*, he gives up the struggle, and the discussion continues on the basis of *M.'s* understanding of *miseros esse*.

23. Ita plane: *precisely so.*

24. Quasi, etc.: see note on *dicam*, line 9. When, as here, the phrase expresses the speaker's impatience at the dulness or inconsistency of an opponent, it is often hard to escape a contrary to fact implication in the words.

25. dialecticis . . . imbutus: *slightly acquainted with logic.* Frequently *imbutus* is thus used of slight impressions, but the word does not always carry this implication.

26. hoc traditur: *this principle is laid down.*

27. pronuntiatum: *proposition.*

29. ergo: *then*, resuming after the parenthesis. The anacoluthon here is rather harsh; a clearer expression of the thought is found in *Acad.* ii. 29. 95: *Nempe fundamentum dialecticae est, quicquid enuntietur . . . aut verum esse aut falsum.*

30. hoc dicis: *cf. dicis*, p. 6. 24, note.

Page 8. **1. Age**: *very well.*

3. ne . . . quidem: *cf.* p. 6. 8, note. **Quid?** *but consider.* It very often happens in Latin that a short introductory question, as here, leads up to the real question which the speaker wishes answered. The shorter question is merely a device to challenge the hearer's attention. The English translation must be chosen in each case with reference to the context.

6. iam iamque: *soon, full soon;* more pressing than *iam* simply (*cf. iam*, p. 95. 19).

7. *Ecquid* ergo intellegis: *is it then at all clear to you?* The *pronoun is here* used adverbially. For its nature, see p. 7. 8, note.

9. Quonam modo? *how so, pray?*

10. Quia: *in that*, a frequent meaning of *quod* and *quia*; *cf. quod*, p. 2. 25, note. **mori**: *being dead*; *cf.* note on *mors*, p. 40. 23. **etiam**: with *mortuis*.

11. in vita: *in the fact of life.*

12. calcem: *a goal*; so named because of the ancient custom of marking the finish by means of a chalk line or lime.

13. Epicharmi: the poet who gave Greek comedy a definite literary form. His first play was written about 500 B.C.

14. ut Siculi: *being a Sicilian.* Such compendious phrases introduced by *ut* are not uncommon. In the simplest cases they arise through the suppression of *fieri solet* or the like; *cf.* Livy xxi. 34. 4: *nequaquam ut inter pacatos.* Cicero frequently refers to the keenness and wit of the Sicilians; *e.g. de Orat.* ii. 54. 217, *in Caecil.* 9. 28, *in Verr.* ii. 3. 8. 20, ii. 4. 43. 95.

17. me Graece loqui, etc.: this statement does not hold good of Cicero's correspondence; but he planned to publish only a few of his letters, and did not know that his literary executors would transmit to posterity such a number that his correspondence would form a large section of his collected works. In his philosophical writings particularly Greek quotations would have been out of place, because his avowed purpose in undertaking this work was to produce treatises which could be easily handled by Roman readers generally.

21. me esse mortuum: *being dead.* The verse is trochaic tetrameter catalectic.

22. adgnosco: *recognize.* **Graecum**: *sc. versum.*

24. ne . . . quidem: see again p. 6. 8, note. **moriendum**: *having to die.*

26. Iam: *i.e.* in view of the admission already made by *Auditor.* **istuc**: see p. 6. 15, note.

28. aut: to connect short questions, each calling for a separate answer, English uses a copulative conjunction, but in Latin disjunctives are common; *e.g.* Vergil, *Aen.* i. 369–370: *quibus aut venistis ab oris quove tenetis iter?*

30. Quia: answering the first of the two questions; *cf. Quia*, line 10, note.

31. cui: *i.e.* death. **proxumum**: predicate adjective. **tempus . . . post mortem**: the connection of two nouns by means of a preposition is of frequent occurrence when the governing noun has *verbal force (e.g. odium in hostes)*, or when the prepositional phrase

expresses a partitive or source idea; otherwise in general this construction is sparingly used.

32. ita: see p. 6. 31, note.

Page 9. **3. Uberius ista**: *sc. expone.* **spinosiora**: *somewhat obscure;* lit., *thorny* (hence, *difficult*). For the use of the comparative, *cf. serius*, p. 2. 11, note.

4. adsentiar: *am convinced.*

8. aveo: *cf. avidus* and *audeo.* **Ut**: concessive.

9. mors ut malum non sit: strict logic would call for something like *ut mortem non esse malum credamus.* But by brachylogy the thing believed, rather than the fact of belief itself, is stated as the result to be attained.

15. malo non roges: a very unusual substitute for *malo ne roges.*

16. Geram . . . morem: *humor* (*i.e. indulge*).

17. Pythius Apollo: here referred to in his character as god of divination. The epithet *Pythius* is connected with *Pytho*, the early name of Delphi and the surrounding country. It was to the shrine at this place that Xenophon went at Socrates' suggestion (*cf.* Introd. § 6) to inquire about joining the expedition of Cyrus (*Anabasis* iii. 1. 5), and it was here too that Socrates was declared to be the wisest of men (Plato, *Apology* 21 A.).

18. ut homunculus: Cicero speaks of himself with mock humility in describing the attitude of mind in which an adherent of the New Academy is supposed to enter upon a discussion; see Introd. §§ 15, 16.

19. ultra: to be construed with *quam* of the following line. **quo**: *cf. eodem*, p. 6. 29, note.

20. Certa: *certainties.*

21. percipi: *be grasped.* **sapientis**: as a special technical term, *sapiens* is the designation of the ideal philosopher. Each school postulated a *sapiens*, making him the perfect exponent of its own doctrines. The Stoics, however, were most persistent in talking of their paragon, and it is generally thought that Cicero's remarks here are directed against that school. If so, he does the Stoics some injustice, for they (and the philosophers of other schools generally) did not call themselves *sapientes;* in fact, it was in most quarters agreed that the *sapiens* was a scarcely realizable ideal (*cf.* p. 76. 22 ff.). Possibly the speaker is thinking particularly of the Epicureans. At any rate it is elsewhere stated (*de Fin.* ii. 3. 7) that Epicurus claimed the title *sapiens* for himself and ascribed it also to Metrodorus (Introd. § 18);

and it can hardly be said that the Epicureans asserted less strongly than the Stoics the certainty of human knowledge — as a matter of fact they were apt to be dogmatic and arrogant to an offensive degree; *cf. de Nat. D.* i. 8. 18: *Tum Velleius fidenter sane, ut solent isti, nihil tam verens, quam ne dubitare aliqua de re videretur, tamquam modo ex deorum concilio . . . descendisset,* "*Audite,*" *inquit.* See also *de Fin.* i. 21. 71, and *cf.* p. 26. 22 ff.

23. Tu: *sc. fac.*

24. igitur: *then*, in the resumptive sense.

27. una: the adverb, *together.*

29. alii . . . alii . . . alii: in partitive apposition to the implied antecedent of *Qui* (line 28). We may however render: *of those who . . . , some . . . , others . . . ,* etc. **statim dissipari**: the Epicurean view. **diu permanere**: as most of the Stoics taught. According to the view of this latter school the universe is doomed to periodic conflagrations due to the gradual exhaustion of the supply of water — cataclysms which reduce everything to a primordial condition. After each fire the organized universe again develops. On this hypothesis the souls of men can of course last, at most, only until the next conflagration; and the Stoics were divided on the question whether all or any souls would retain their individuality even until that time.

30. semper: *sc. permanere;* the view of Socrates and Plato. **aut . . . aut**: *cf. aut,* p. 8. 28, note.

Page 10. 1. dicuntur: *are (so) called.* This same verb is to be supplied with the following subjects. **Nasica ille prudens**: *i.e.* Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum, an able lawyer of the second century B.C. The epithet *prudens* has reference to his legal knowledge; *cf. prudentiam,* p. 4. 1, note.

2. Aelius Sextus: a famous jurist, consul 198 B.C. The verse here cited is from the *Annals* of Ennius (*cf.* p. 2. 13, note). For the *s* of *Aelius*, see p. 5. 17, note.

3. Empedocles: see Introd. § 5 *b.* His view seems to have been, not as Cicero here states, that the soul is the blood bathing the heart, but that the soul has its seat preëminently in the blood, and that its activity is most pronounced in the neighborhood of the heart; *cf. in Empedocleo sanguine demersa (mens),* p. 18. 29.

4. animi principatum tenere: *exercise the ruling function of soul.*

8. animam: *air*; sc. *esse*. **nostri**: *men of our nation.*

9. agere animam et efflare: both phrases signify 'to die'; *cf.* 'breathe one's last' and 'expire.'

10. animosos . . . bene animatos: Cicero apparently feels that *animosus* is a derivative of *animus*, and *animatus* of *anima*. The pair of synonyms which he here quotes would therefore seem to show that *animus* and *anima* are merely two names for the same thing. **ex animi sententia**: the phrase may mean either 'to the best of one's knowledge and belief' or 'to one's liking.' Such double meaning hardly proves that *animus* and *anima* were used interchangeably; the demonstration would be more satisfactory if a phrase containing the noun *anima*, and approaching one of the above meanings, could be placed side by side with this.

11. Zenoni Stoico: founder of the school; see Introd. § 10.

12. ignis: more exactly, the Stoic view seems to have been that the soul was made up of fire and air (see the note on p. 11. 12); *cf. inflammata anima* (πνεῦμα ἔνθερμον), p. 19. 16.

13. vulgo: *sc. esse animum philosophi censent.* **reliqua fere singuli**: *i.e.* while whole schools (*vulgo*) uphold the views previously mentioned, the theories that yet remain to be taken up find only an individual supporter here and there.

14. ut: see *ut*, p. 4. 8, note. **ante**: the adverb. **Aristoxenus**: a native of Tarentum and pupil of Aristotle. He was the son of a musician, and wrote himself on music and other subjects. Fragments of his work Ἁρμονικὰ Στοιχεῖα are still extant.

16. intentionem quandam: *a sort of attuned state.* **cantu et fidibus**: *i.e.* vocal and instrumental music. **quae**: for the agreement, see *quae*, p. 1. 7, note.

17. ἁρμονία: *harmonic arrangement;* said with reference to the proper intervals between the notes. These intervals were different for different instruments, and airs of various types were played by combining the intervals in different ways. The simultaneous striking of several strings to produce chords seems to have been little practised in the ancient music of the Greeks, octave playing or singing being the most popular 'part music' (συμφωνία). **natura et figura**: *natural configuration.* The thought is that the soul is mere adjustment of parts — given the adjustment, certain activities become possible; *cf.* Lactantius, *Inst.* vii. 13. 9: *Quid Aristoxenus, qui negavit omnino ullam esse animam, etiam cum vivit in corpore; sed sicut in fidibus ex intentione nervorum effici concordem sonum atque cantum, quem mu-*

sici harmoniam vocant, ita in corporibus ex conpage viscerum ac vigore membrorum vim sentiendi exsistere?

18. cantu: *cf. cecinisse*, p. 2. 32, note.

19. dixit aliquid: *advocated a plausible view*, or, more literally, *said something* (*worth while*). This pregnant use of *aliquid* is not uncommon.

20. quod ipsum quale esset: *the exact nature of which*, the indirect question being practically equivalent to an abstract noun. The musical analogy here in question did not appeal to Plato; see *Phaedo* 91. D ff.

21. Xenocrates: a pupil of Plato, and third president of the Academy; *cf.* Introd. § 14.

22. quasi corpus: *body, so to speak* (*i.e.* substance). **negavit**: *cf. negabas*, p. 6. 30, note. **merum numerum**: *a number and nothing more.*

23. vis: *efficacy.* **Pythagorae**: see Introd. § 5 *a*.

24. Eius: *i.e.* Xenocrates. **triplicem**: *cf. Tusc. Disp.* iv. 5. 10: *Pythagorae primum, dein Platonis discriptionem sequar, qui animum in duas partes dividunt, alteram rationis participem faciunt, alteram expertem.* By subdividing the second part mentioned in this latter passage the division is made *triplex; cf. de Div.* i. 29. 61.

26. parere voluit: *represented as obedient.* When thus used, the construction dependent on *velle* closely approaches indirect discourse, and the translation varies; *e.g.* 'hold,' 'believe,' and the like.

27. locis suis: *their* (*respective*) *places;* for this use of the reflexive, see B. 244. 4, A. 301. *c*, G. 309. 2, H. 503. 4.

29. Dicaearchus: a disciple of Aristotle and fellow-pupil of Aristoxenus (line 14); *cf.* Introd. § 9. He too conceived the soul to be a sort of ἁρμονία, but in a very different sense, namely, the blending in the constitution of the body of the moist and the dry, the hot and the cold. In addition to the *tres Corinthii libri* here referred to he wrote also on the same topic *tres Lesbiaci libri* (see p. 33. 29).

30. habitum . . . exponit: *represents as held.* **doctorum hominum disputantium**: modifying *sermone* (line 29).

Page 11. 2. Deucalione: the Noah of Greek mythology. **inducit**: suggesting the dramatic nature of the composition; *cf. inducunt*, p. 65. 22.

3. totum: adjective instead of an adverb, as often. **frustra**: *without good reason.*

4. animantis: this term includes plants.

5. vel animam: *or even life principle.* In such a passage as this *vel* betrays its etymological connection with *velle*, a connection that can sometimes be brought out by rendering 'or, if you will.' Thus used, the word marks a concession on the speaker's part; *e.g.* in the present passage Pherecrates is willing to undertake to show that there is no life principle, to say nothing of soul.

6. quid: *anything; cf. quis*, p. 4. 12.

8. quippe quae nulla sit: *since it has no (independent) existence at all, i.e.* since it is a mere function of matter. A characteristic clause with causal or concessive shading is often thus marked by *quippe*, *ut*, or *utpote*. For *nulla sit*, *cf. nulli sint*, p. 6. 16, note. **(nec) sit**: *is (i.e. exists)*.

9. figuratum: *constituted.* **temperatione naturae**, etc.: on this view, see p. 10. 29, note.

10. Aristoteles: see Introd. § 8.

12. quattuor . . . genera principiorum: *four classes of elements (i.e.* earth, air, fire, and water).

13. orerentur: this verb wavers between the third and the fourth conjugation. For the sequence, *cf. contineretur*, p. 1. 7, note. **quintam . . . naturam**: the recognition of a fifth element rests on the assumption that the fire known on earth is not of the same nature as the fire assumed to exist above the air. This upper fire Aristotle conceived of as rotating about the other elements. Cicero, however, is probably wrong in supposing that Aristotle was the first to assume such a fifth element.

14. e qua sit mens: scholars are by no means agreed that the statements of Aristotle himself touching the nature of the soul justify this remark.

18. vacans nomine: ordinarily the fifth element is called *αἰθήρ*. Just why Cicero ignores this name is not clear; possibly he thought it not definite enough, since the word was used of the outer fire (see line 13, note) even by those who did not regard this upper fire as different from that found on the earth.

19. sic: *accordingly.* A rare use of the word. **ἐνδελέχειαν**: *continuous motion.* This term fits very well the revolving *αἰθήρ* (see line 13, note), but not the soul as described by Aristotle. He does, however, apply to the soul the term *ἐντελέχεια* ('perfection,' 'actuality'), and it is possible that Cicero has confused the two words. On *Cicero's fallibility* in matters of this sort, cf. Introd. § 24.

21. haec: a rare form of the feminine plural. **iere**: about (all).

22. Democritum: see Introd. § 5 *c*. **illum quidem**: *cf. illis quidem*, p. 3. 19, and the note there.

23. levibus: *i.e. lēvibus*.

24. concursu quodam fortuito: hardly exact; for Democritus held that fate controls the endless downward rain of atoms through space, that the heavier overtake the lighter, and that collisions result in vortexes out of which this universe has developed. Cicero's words would apply better to Epicurus (Introd. § 12), who adopted the atomic theory in general but introduced an arbitrary sidewise movement of the atoms, hoping in this way to provide a basis for the doctrine of the freedom of the will; *cf. de Fato* 10. 22. In this amended form the atomic theory was adopted in turn by Lucretius (Introd. § 3).

25. istos: the atomists. For the force of the pronoun, see *ista*, p. 5. 25, note.

27. viderit: *will have to decide.* The mood is probably subjunctive. **veri simillima**: *cf.* Introd. § 15.

30. equidem: *(I) for my part.* The word is so often used in this sense that it was once thought to be a compound of *ego* and *quidem*.

31. confundere: *to combine (the two).* **ut ista non disserantur**: *without a discussion of these views; cf. Ut*, p. 9. 8, note.

Page 12. **2. hoc**: *i.e.* the question of the nature of the soul. **alias**: *at another time.*

4. ut . . . mors aut malum non sit, etc.: for the brachylogy, see p. 9. 9, note.

7. corpus: *i.e. corporeal.*

9. Aristoxeni harmonia: *cf.* p. 10. 17, note.

10. Dicaearcho: *cf.* p. 10. 29, note.

11. His sententiis omnibus: *according to all these views*, an example of the ablative of accordance (B. 220. 3).

13. non sentientis: *one without feeling.* The genitive is called for by *intersit* (line 14). **autem**: *moreover.*

18. primum: the adverb.

20. Quid: *wherein;* adverbial accusative. *Cf. Quid*, p. 1. 17.

21. Evolve: *peruse.* The Latin word, however, takes cognizance of the form of the written document; *cf. volumen*, 'roll.'

22. qui est de animo: *i.e.* the *Phaedo*, for which see Introd. § 6 fin. **amplius quod desideres**, etc.: *i.e.* the *Phaedo* will leave nothing further to be desired. The relative clause is one of characteristic.

24. nescio quo modo: *somehow or other.* In this and similar phrases the literal force has practically faded out.

25. adsentior: *cf. adsentiar*, p. 9. 4, note.

26. ipse: here, as often, modifying the subject, though the emphasis seems to us to rest upon the reflexive (here, *mecum*); see B. 249. 2, A. 298. *f*, G. 311. 2 fin., H. 509. 1 and 2.

28. Quid hoc? *look you; cf.* p. 8. 3, note. The syntax of *hoc* is hopelessly vague. **dasne**: *do you grant.*

Page 13. **3. Quo modo**: *in what sense; cf.* the somewhat analogous *Quo modo stulte? de Off.* iii. 27. 101. **aut**: *cf.* p. 8. 28, note.

4. quae aut beatos, etc.: to the modern reader thoroughly familiar with a well-established doctrine of rewards and punishments in the world to come it might seem that Cicero here consciously shirks a difficulty in recognizing only two possible alternatives; namely, a *happy* immortality and annihilation. But it should be remembered that he, in common with cultivated Romans generally, did not really credit the tales of torment in the lower world (*cf.* pp. 5. 13 ff., 16. 21 ff., and 22. 10). In accordance with a view generally accepted among those who believed in the immortality of the soul, he held that the soul is in some sense material, but so light that, when released from the body, it naturally soars upward to a happy abode in the sky; whereas a soul defiled by contact with the body is unable to rise, and lingers in the lower terrestrial region in a state of more or less discontented exile from its fellows (*cf.* line 26, and p. 31. 24 ff.). That this latter fate should overtake the soul of any well-trained, educated man was a thought that seems scarcely to have entered Cicero's mind, and he probably had no intention of limiting the discussion unfairly in ignoring the possibility of an unhappy immortality.

7. si minus id obtinebis: *if you fail to prove this.* The substitution of *si minus* for *si non* occurs most frequently when the verb of the clause is to be supplied from the context.

8. docebis: perhaps with a suggestion of imperative force; note *Expone*, line 6.

11. Auctoribus: *authorities.* **ad**: *in support of.*

12. obtineri: *cf. obtinebis*, line 8. **quod**: *i.e. id quod.*

14. quo propius aberat ab: *in proportion to its nearness to; cf. de Senectute* 21. 77: *eo cernere mihi melius videor, quo ab ea (sc. morte) propius absum.* Such phrases are not more illogical than the *frequently* heard 'different to,' which seems to arise by cross analogy

from 'similar to.' **ortu et divina progenie**: *i.e.* the origin of man and the time when heroes walked the earth.

15. hoc: ablative, correlative with *quo* (line 14).

16. unum illud erat insitum: *this one idea was implanted.* **cascos**: a word said to be borrowed from Oscan (an Italic dialect). Its meaning is indicated by the connection in which it is here used. For Ennius, see p. 2. 13, note.

17. excessu vitae: *departure from life*, an extension of the objective genitive; see B. 200, A. 348, G. 363, H. 440. 2.

19. pontificio iure: the religious aspect of burial, adoption, etc. brought these ceremonies within the range of the pontifical law.

21. nec violatas . . . sanxissent: *and would not have forbidden their desecration under pain of such unpardonable guilt; cf. de Off.* iii. 13. 55: *quod . . . exsecrationibus publicis sanctum est.*

22. nisi haereret: the imperfect subjunctive has here the force of the pluperfect. This use of the tense is common in the protasis of past contrary to fact conditional sentences when the fact presupposed by the apodosis is adduced as proof of the thing implied by the condition; *e.g.* in this passage the carefulness of the ancients in matters touching burial is adduced as proof that they believed in the immortality of the soul. The other Ciceronian examples of this tense use are enumerated in the *American Journal of Philology* XXVIII, p. 158 ff.

24. quandam quasi migrationem: *a sort of transfer of residence, as it were; cf. quandam*, p. 10. 16, and *quasi*, p. 10. 22.

25. in (claris viris, etc.): *in the case of.*

26. humi retineretur: a sudden and awkward turn in the sentence. The subject of the preceding verb appears to be *commutatio vitae;* but here *vita*, or even *animus*, is required as subject. For the thought at this point, *cf.* line 4, note, and p. 31. 32, note. **Ex hoc**: *as a result of this (belief).*

27. et nostrorum opinione: balanced by *et apud Graecos* (line 28). The stray phrase from Ennius which follows is quoted somewhat inaccurately. Servius (on *Aen.* vi. 763) cites it thus: *Romulus in caelo cum dis genitalibus aevum Degit.*

29. perlapsus ad nos: the choice of verb suggests that Cicero is thinking of the spread of the worship of Hercules, rather than of the story of his visit to Italy. Furthermore, Hercules was on his way home (*i.e.* travelling from west to east) when he is said to have come into Italy with the cattle of Geryon (*cf.* Livy, i. 7).

30. praesens: *propitious, i.e.* not merely present, but present to

help, a common meaning of the word as applied to divinities. **hinc**: repeating *Ex hoc* (line 26). **Liber Semela natus**: *sc. deus habetur. Liber* is another name of Bacchus.

31. Tyndaridae fratres: Castor and Pollux, sons of Tyndareus and brothers of Helen; *cf.* Horace, *Carm.* i. 3. 2: *fratres Helenae, lucida sidera.*

32. adiutores: the most noteworthy case of aid said to have been rendered by them was at the battle of Lake Regillus (498 B.C.); *cf. de Nat. D.* ii. 2. 6, iii. 5. 11.

Page 14. **1. sed etiam nuntii**: the emphasis laid upon this phase of their activity was perhaps due to the fact that they carried news with miraculous speed; *cf.* the story told in Suetonius, *Nero* 1. **Quid?** *cf. Quid*, p. 8. 3, note. **Cadmi**: founder of Thebes.

2. Λευκοθέα: *i.e.* 'the bright goddess.' Under this name Ino was worshipped by the Greeks as goddess of the sea, and as such she became identified with the Italian goddess Matuta, whose province was in part the same.

3. ne pluris persequar: a parenthetical clause of purpose; see B. 282. 4, A. 532, G. 545. R. 3, H. 568. 4. The case of *pluris* is accusative.

6. maiorum gentium di: referring to the twelve Olympian deities (Jupiter, Neptune, Vulcan, Mars, Mercury, Apollo, Juno, Minerva, Vesta, Ceres, Venus, and Diana) as contrasted with the minor divinities. The rather peculiar designation here applied to them is suggested by the fact that when Lucius Tarquinus Priscus on his accession doubled the number of senators, the old were distinguished from the new by the addition of *maiorum gentium* and *minorum gentium* to the original title *patres* (*de Re P.* ii. 20. 35). *Cf. Acad.* ii. 41. 126: *Cleanthes, qui quasi maiorum est gentium Stoicus.*

8. quorum: *i.e. eos quorum.*

9. mysteriis: these were religious ceremonials of the Greeks, observed in honor of various divinities and performed at meetings of secret associations instituted for this purpose. Foreigners were in general excluded, but an exception was made in favor of the conquering Romans. Cicero was himself an initiate, and speaks in glowing terms of the value of the societies (*de Leg.* ii. 14. 36).

10. quam hoc late pateat: *how wide the application of this principle is.* Both *quam* and *tam* express degree; hence their normal use with adjectives and adverbs. **Sed qui**: but being persons who,

etc. With these words the speaker proceeds to round off what he has to say of the belief of the ancients (*priscis illis*, p. 13. 16). For the mood of the *qui*-clause, *cf. quippe quae* and the subjunctive, p. 11. 8, note.

11. physica: *the subject of physical science.* From the point of view of ancient philosophy the study of the nature of the soul would fall under this head; *cf.* p. 13. 4, note.

12. tantum: (*only*) *so much.*

14. movebantur: *i.e. commovebantur.* **iisque**: *and that too.*

15. ut: introducing a clause of result.

16. Ut: this beginning of the sentence presupposes a following correlative (*ita*); but by anacoluthon *quis est igitur*, etc. (line 24 ff.), is substituted for the second member of the comparison. **porro**: *further*, introducing the second argument for the immortality of the soul. **firmissimum hoc adferri videtur**, etc.: *this seems to be advanced as a most cogent* (*ground*) *for the belief*, etc.

17. quod: *namely that*, introducing a substantive clause explanatory of *hoc* (line 16); *cf. quod*, p. 2. 25.

18. imbuerit: not necessarily with the implication that the impression made is slight; *cf. imbutus*, p. 7. 25, note.

19. prava sentiunt: *hold perverted views*, an example of the cognate accusative. **more**: *practices.*

21. consessus: *conference.*

22. institutis: *regulations.*

23. autem: *cf. autem*, p. 12. 13.

24. primum: instead of using *deinde*, Cicero marks the second point by *vero* (line 32).

26. Tolle, etc.: a rhetorical substitute for a conditional clause.

28. ex eo est, quod: *arises from the fact that; cf. quod*, line 17.

30. haec ita sentimus: *this sort of ideas we have;* cf. *prava sentiunt*, line 19 and note.

32. vero: see line 24, note. **argumentum**: *proof.*

Page 15. 1. iudicare: *passes judgment* (*affirmatively*). The indirect discourse depends on *argumentum*, a word whose verbal force is occasionally thus brought out. **quod omnibus**, etc.; a substantive clause, subject of *est*, p. 14. 32; *cf. quod*, p. 2. 25, note.

3. ille: *i.e.* the speaker in the play.

4. Synephebis: '*The Young* Companions,' written by Caecilius

Statius, the comic poet, a contemporary and friend of Ennius (p. 2. 13, note). His birthplace was Gaul. **quid spectans**: *with what idea in mind.*

5. Ergo: the clause thus introduced may in translation be conveniently treated as dependent; *e.g. while therefore the diligent farmer plants trees . . . , will a great man*, etc. The two clauses are, however, coördinate, and a full expression of the thought would call for something like *et tamen* with the second. Often *an* is used to introduce the first clause in a sentence thus constructed.

7. seret: with the nearest object (*rem publicam*) this verb is used naturally enough, and even with the others its use is not unparalleled, although infrequent. Possibly the choice of verb in this clause was influenced by *seret*, line 5.

8. adoptationes filiorum: a very important matter with reference to keeping a family name alive. A noteworthy case of adoption was that of Scipio Africanus the Younger, who by birth was the son of Lucius Aemilius Paulus; *cf.* p. 35. 18, note.

9. testamentorum diligentia: upon the *heres* devolved the duty of seeing to it that the testator was properly buried, and in many cases he was bound to maintain indefinitely some specific private *sacra*. Livy (V. 46. 2 ff.) mentions an instance of private *sacra* performed under difficulties; *cf. de Off.* i. 17. 55.

10. elogia: *inscriptions* (on the tombs). The word is added as a sort of amplification of *monumenta*.

11. Quid? *further; cf. Quid*, p. 8. 3, note. **quin specimen**, etc.: *that the type of a class* (*naturae*) *should be established* (*capi*) *on the basis of the highest development in each class, i.e.* that the finest specimens in any class should be chosen as the typical examples of that class. The *quin*-clause expands *illud*.

13. Quae est melior, etc.: *i.e.* the most typical men are most keenly interested in posterity — thus confirming the present argument for immortality.

15. numquam abisset, nisi, etc.: *i.e.* the fact of his deification proves that he devoted himself to the service of mankind; in other words, that he is an example of the typical man.

16. viam munivisset: a technical phrase, somewhat picturesque in this connection.

17. ista: *i.e.* examples such as that of Hercules. **religione**: *veneration.*

18. Quid in hac re publica, etc.: i.e. typical men there were

most keenly alive to the matter of their standing with the coming generations, thus confirming once more the present argument for immortality. The *ut*-construction with *cogitasse* is due to the fact that the verb here means 'have in mind,' 'aim at,' or the like; *cf. de Fin.* ii. 19. 61.

22. offerret: present contrary to fact. The condition is implied in *sine magna spe inmortalitatis* (line 21). **Licuit esse otioso Themistocli**, etc.: *Themistocles might have lived a life of leisure*, etc.; *cf.* B. 270. 2, A. 486. *a*, G. 280. 2. *b*, H. 618. 2. Themistocles and Epaminondas were famous leaders of Athens and Thebes respectively; *cf.* p. 2. 31, note.

23. ne . . . quaeram: see p. 14. 3, note. **externa**: *foreign.*

24. nescio quo modo: see p. 12. 24, note.

29. principibus: *leaders (in the state).*

30. nobilitari: *cf. nobilissimo*, p. 2. 25, note.

31. Enni: with *i* shortened in hiatus. The two lines form an elegiac distich. It is not certain that these verses were written by Ennius himself. **imaginis**: *likeness.* For the treatment of final *s* in early Latin, see p. 5. 17, note, and *cf. vivos* just below (p. 16. 4).

32. panxit maxima facta: especially in his *Annals*, a Roman history in verse, comprising eighteen books; *cf.* p. 2. 13, note. Only fragments of this work remain.

Page 16. **2. idem**: *i.e. īdem.* A verb of saying is to be supplied.

3. Nemo me lacrimis, etc.: Cicero occasionally cites a well-known passage in this way, mentioning a few catch words and leaving it to the hearer to recall the remainder. The elegiac distich from which citation is here made reads in full:

Nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu
Faxit. Cur? volito vivos per ora virum.

4. vivos: *i.e. vivŏs*, the early nominative singular form. **per ora**: *on the lips.* **virum**: genitive plural.

5. Sed quid poetas? *sc. commemoro.* **opifices**: a word used indiscriminately of artists and artisans.

6. Phidias: the famous sculptor. One of his most celebrated works was the colossal statue of Athena in the Parthenon. On the shield of the statue the giants were depicted in conflict with the Amazons, and it was charged that Phidias had incorporated in

the scene his own portrait and that of Pericles, his patron. As a result of this charge he was thrown into prison, where he died.

7. Quid: *further; cf. Quid*, p. 8. 3, note.

8. nostri: as being fellow-workers in the field which Cicero had now entered. For the thought of this passage, *cf. p. Arch.* 11. 26.

12. nobis: *i.e.* as students of philosophy.

13. eos: antecedent of *quorum* (line 12).

15. serviat: *looks out for the interests* (*of*).

17. natura . . . ratione: *instinctively . . . by scientific inquiry.*

21. formidines: abstract for concrete. The terrors here referred to are mentioned more specifically at p. 5. 13 ff.

26. Frequens . . . consessus: *crowded throng.*

27. mulierculae: *susceptible women.*

28. tam: *cf. quam*, p. 14. 10, note. **carmen**: (*poetic*) *passage.*

29. Adsum, etc.: trochaic tetrameter catalectic. The source of the quotation is unknown. **Acherunte**: *from the world below. Acheron* (*Acheruns*) is frequently used as a designation of the lower world in general, though strictly it is the name of a river; *cf.* p. 5. 14, note.

31. ubi rigida, etc.: *where the heavy thick mist of the lower world abides.* **inferum**: genitive plural.

Page 17. **1. quidem**: *at any rate.* **sublatus**: *exploded.*

4. intellegi: *conceived of.*

6. νέκυια: a common designation of the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, in which Odysseus is represented as visiting the lower world to consult Tiresias concerning his return home. Properly the word signifies 'a magic rite to summon the dead.' **ea, quae . . . νεκυομαντεία faciebat**: *that necromancy which my friend Appius used to practise.* Incorporation of the antecedent noun is more frequently found when the relative clause precedes; see B. 251. 4, A. 307. *b*, G. 616, H. 399. 3.

7. Appius: *i.e.* Appius Claudius Pulcher, the brother of Publius Clodius Pulcher, who drove Cicero into exile (58 B.C). Appius preceded Cicero as governor of Cilicia (52–51 B.C.) and neglected no opportunity to slight the *novus homo* who succeeded him, and to make himself generally disagreeable — until he found himself in need of Cicero's services to help him escape the consequences of his unlawful acts. That Cicero here speaks of him as *amicus* need occasion no *surprise; for* Cicero was a man who did not find it hard to forgive.

8. Averni lacus: *i.e.* the belief that Lake Avernus was an

entrance to the lower world. Cicero had an estate at Cumae, a town not far from this lake; hence *in vicinia nostra.*

9. Unde, etc.: metre the same as in the last citation above. The source of the quotation is unknown.

10. salso sanguine: with *excitantur* (line 9). The salted blood is that of sacrificial victims. In early times the shades of the dead were conceived of as lacking in mentality and substance; but a sip of this blood was supposed to restore to them reason and the power of speech.

11. loqui volunt: *they* (*i.e.* the poets) *represent as speaking; cf. voluit*, p. 10. 26, note. The present tense is often thus used in references to views expressed in extant works, though the author quoted may be no longer living.

13. vi et figura: *form and activity.* **Nihil enim animo,** etc.: *i.e.* the people of that day were not given to abstract reasoning, all their thinking being done in terms of sense perception; therefore, as indicated above, an anthropomorphic soul was the only kind of which they could conceive.

15. sensibus: *sense perception.*

16. consuetudine: *its accustomed channel.* **Itaque credo,** etc.: the first clause of this sentence is logically subordinate: *and so, while I for my part* (*equidem*) *believe . . . , still,* etc.

17. alios: *sc. eadem dixisse.* **quod litteris exstet**: *so far as there is written evidence.* For the mood of the verb, see p. 1. 12, note.

18. Syrius: *of Syros.* Pherecydes lived about 600–550 B.C.

19. antiquus sane: *early enough, to be sure.* **fuit**: see p. 2. 9, note. **meo . . . gentili**: *my kinsman, i.e.* Servius Tullius. A humorous touch.

22. Magnam . . . Graeciam: *i.e.* southern Italy and Sicily. In contrast to this region Livy (vii. 26. 15) speaks of Greece proper as *ulterior Graecia.*

25. antiquos: *i.e.* the earlier Pythagoreans. **Rationem . . . sententiae suae**: *reason for their faith.* It is said that it was the custom of the Pythagoreans to substitute for argument the bald statement *ipse dixit*, assuming that, if Pythagoras said a thing, it must be so.

26. descriptionibus: *diagrams; cf.* Introd. § 5 *a.*

28. didicisse Pythagorea omnia: it is not to be assumed that Plato knew nothing of Pythagorean doctrine until he visited Italy. His journeys to that country were part of a general plan to go to every *place where he might hope* to add to his knowledge.

29. primumque, etc.: *and that he was the first not only to*, etc.

30. sensisse idem: see p. 14. 19, note. **Pythagoram**: somewhat careless attraction to the case of *Platonem . . . primum; cf. de Senectute* 1. 1: *te suspicor isdem rebus quibus me . . . commoveri.*

Page 18. **1. nisi quid dicis**: *i.e. unless you object.*

3. An: marking the exclamatory and protesting force of the question; *cf. An*, p. 5. 26. Translate: *What! . . . do you mean to leave me in the lurch?*

5. quem tu quanti facias: *whose high position in your regard.* **ex tuo ore**: *i.e.* in hearing you set forth his doctrines.

6. istis: *i.e.* the philosophers who deny the immortality of the soul. For the force of the pronoun, see p. 5. 25, note.

7. Macte virtute: *well said!* an expression of approval and encouragement. The phrase is stereotyped, and its syntax is somewhat doubtful. Some regard *macte* as originally a vocative, though it is used unchanged when more than one person is addressed (*e.g.* Livy, vii. 36. 5); others count it an adverb with the final vowel shortened. **isto**: not in the same sense as *istis*, line 6, but with the force of *isto*, p. 6. 15.

8. erraverim: Cicero uses the potential perfect sparingly; *dixerim*, however, is fairly common. **dubitamus**: the substance of the thought which this abruptly abandoned sentence was designed to convey finds expression below in *persuadent enim mathematici*, etc. (line 9 ff.). **an sicut pleraque?** this clause Cicero interjects because he suddenly remembers that, as a representative of the New Academy, he ought not to assume anything as absolutely certain (Introd. § 15).

9. quamquam: *cf.* p. 2. 15, note. Cicero may add this corrective phrase because of the saving clause in the sceptical platform of the New Academy, namely, the admission that it is possible to attain to a degree of probability sufficient for all practical purposes; see again Introd. § 15. **minime**: *sc. dubitari potest.*

10. in medio mundi sitam: the earth is conceived of as a globe in equipoise about which the heavens revolve. **ad . . . complexum**: *in comparison with the extent.*

11. quasi puncti instar: *the appearance of a point, as it were. quasi* apologizes for the use of *punctum* in this connection; *cf. quasi*, *p. 10. 22. instar* is an indeclinable noun.

12. κέντρον: *centre*; *cf.* p. 30. 5 ff., and de Re P. vi. 18. 18: terra

. . . *complexa medium mundi locum.* **eam**: in the sense of *talem*, a quite frequent use of demonstrative pronouns.

13. corporum: *elements; cf.* p. 11. 12, note. **partita**: *parcelled out.*

14. momenta: *laws of motion; cf. moveo.* **suopte**: see B. 86. 3, A. 145. *a*, G. 102 N. 3, H. 176. 2.

15. ad paris angulos: *at right angles*, *i.e.* perpendicularly down.

16. animalis: *of air.*

17. ut: correlative with *sic* (line 18). **illae superiores**: *those first mentioned*, *i.e.* earth and water.

18. hae: taking up *reliquae duae partes* (line 16). The break in the sentence caused by the insertion of the *ut*-clause makes it desirable thus to recall the subject. **rursum**: *in turn.*

20. a: expressing separation. **natura**: *naturally; cf. natura*, p. 16. 17, note.

21. Quae cum constent: *this being established.*

22. animales: *cf. animalis*, line 16.

23. spirabiles: *breathable.* **sive ignei**: only two of the four elements are here considered, because fire and air were regarded generally as the seat of active force, water and earth being thought merely passive. **sublime**: *aloft*: this is the regular form of the adverb, though *sublimus* is but a rare collateral form of the adjective.

24. numerus quidam: *cf.* p. 10. 22. **sit**: *be*, or, *should prove to be.* **subtiliter**: of the same view Cicero says (*Acad.* ii. 39. 124) *quod intellegi quale sit vix potest.*

25. non nominata: *cf. vacans nomine*, p. 11. 18, note.

26. integriora: *more refined.* This and the following adjective refer to *numerus* and *quinta natura*; see B. 235. B. 2. *b*. β, A. 287. 3, H. 395. 2.

27. ut: introducing a clause of result.

28. ne . . . iaceat: *not to suppose that*, etc. For the brachylogy, see p. 9. 9, note, and for the syntax of the clause, p. 14. 3, note. **mens**: *i.e. animus.* **in corde**: *cf.* p. 10. 6.

29. in . . . sanguine: see p. 10. 3, note.

30. Dicaearchum: see p. 10. 29, note. **Aristoxeno**: see p. 10. 14, note. **aequali**: *his contemporary.*

31. suo: a use of the reflexive even freer than *suis*, p. 10. 27, where see note. **sane**: *cf. sane*, p. 17. 19, note. Here the word is *used somewhat ironically*, as appears from what follows.

Page 19. 2. haec: *i.e.* the field of philosophy; *cf.* ***haec***, line 7. **Harmoniam**: see p. 10. 17, note. By combining notes at various intervals in certain ways airs of several types (***harmonias***, line 4) were developed, as for example the 'Lydian mode.'

4. pluris: *i.e.* ***compluris***, a use of the word to which Cicero is not very partial.

5. situs: *arrangement.*

10. Quam, etc.: iambic trimeter. **quisque**: attracted into the relative clause as usual. A different arrangement of words is often desirable in the English translation. For the incorporation of the antecedent noun, see p. 17. 6, note fin.

11. individuorum corporum: *indivisible bodies, i.e. atoms.*

12. levium: *cf.* ***levibus***, p. 11. 23, note. **fortuitam**: see p. 11. 24, note.

13. spirabilem . . . animalem: *cf.* p. 18. 22–23. The addition of *spirabilem* to *concalefactam* misrepresents the view of Democritus slightly (*cf.* Introd. § 5 *c*). What he did teach was that the soul-fire is conserved and replenished through the act of respiration.

14. volt: see p. 10. 26, note. **autem**: *now*, resuming after the summary of views rejected.

16. potissimum: *the most probable view.* As an adverb this form is constantly used to designate that one thing is singled out by preference.

17. Panaetio: see Introd. § 11.

18. haec duo genera: *i.e. ignis* and *anima.*

19. Ita: *cf. ita*, p. 6. 31, note. **sive dissipantur**: as happens sooner or later, according to the Stoics; *cf.* p. 9. 29, note. Cicero does not stop here to question the Stoic view, his point being that whether souls after death enjoy separate and individual existence for a limited period or forever, the lightness of the soul makes the heavens its natural home.

20. habitum: *individuality.*

21. hoc etiam, etc.: *all the more are they inevitably*, etc., ***hoc*** being an ablative of cause taking up *sive* (line 20).

22. crassus . . . et concretus: because of dampness, mist, etc.

25. quod: *i.e. id quod.*

26. quia: *cf. quod*, p. 2. 25, note. **principiorum**: *elements*; *cf.* p. 11. 12, note.

28. Accedit, ut: *furthermore*; lit., *it is added that.* **eo**: anticipating *quod* of the following line.

29. appello: (*have occasion to*) *mention.*

31. Qui si permanet, etc.: Cicero seems here to have in mind the thought that the souls of the bad may become so vitiated as to lose their natural lightness; *cf.* p. 13. 4, note.

Page 20. **2. caelum**: *atmosphere.*

3. coguntur: *are marshalled.*

5. superavit: the verb suggests the upward striving of the soul. **naturam**: *element; cf. natura*, p. 18. 26.

6. iunctis . . . ignibus: ablative absolute, *at the point where a fiery compound results from the union of rarefied air*, etc.

7. temperato: because the sun is conceived of as at a still greater altitude.

9. paribus examinatus ponderibus: *held motionless in equipoise.*

12. astra: *celestial bodies.* These were thought by the Stoics to be personal intelligent beings, their sustenance being derived from the vapors that arise from the warm earth and from waters salt and fresh.

14. facibus: *incitement.* For the use of the plural *cf. cantibus*, p. 2. 30, note.

19. ut . . . velimus: a substantive clause explaining *quod . . . nunc facimus* (line 18).

22. natura: *naturally; cf. natura*, p. 16. 17.

23. orae ipsae: *the very expanses.*

24. quo (pervenerimus): *i.e. in quae; cf. eodem*, p. 6. 29, note. An adverb is thus frequently substituted for a case form or for a case form and a preposition. **quo (faciliorem) . . . eo**: ablatives of degree of difference. By zeugma *dabunt* serves for both clauses; strictly *reddent* is required for the first.

26. Haec . . . pulchritudo: *the beauty of these; cf.* p. 4. 6, note. **etiam in terris**, etc.: *i.e.* the ancients felt the inspiration even while yet in the body.

27. Theophrastus: a pupil of Plato and Aristotle, and the successor of the latter as head of the Peripatetic School; *cf.* Introd. § 9.

29. ea: *i.e. philosophia.*

31. dispicere: *pierce* (*the gloom*). The prefix of the verb takes cognizance of an obstruction to the view. **aliquid**: cf. aliquid, *p. 10. 19, note.*

32. adsequi: a striking case of present for perfect. In the English rendering, however, there is no difficulty; for *qui . . . viderunt* may be regarded as a conditional relative clause of the present general type, in which case *viderunt* is conveniently rendered by a present. **ostium Ponti**: *sc. Euxini; i.e.* the Dardanelles.

Page 21. 1. eas angustias, etc.: *i.e.* the Bosphorus. **ea**: *sc. navis.*

3. Argo, etc.: iambic trimeter. This and the following verse are quoted (somewhat inexactly) from the *Medea* of Ennius. Line 6 is from the *Annals* of the same author; *cf.* p. 15. 32, note.

5. Oceani freta: *i.e.* the Straits of Gibraltar.

9. circumscriptionem: *boundary.* **tum**: correlative with *cum* (line 8). **rursum**: as at p. 18. 18.

10. omni cultu . . . vacantis: *altogether unreclaimed.* Elsewhere (*de Re P.* vi. 20. 21) five zones are specifically mentioned. Though astronomy did not reach a stable scientific basis until modern times, ancient writers on the subject here and there arrived at correct conclusions on various topics, such as the nature of an eclipse, the shape of the earth (as shown by its shadow on the moon), etc.

12. sensus: *power of perception.*

14. viae . . . perforatae: this view of the ancients was probably due to the fact that, in the dead body, the arteries were found empty, and leading to the heart. **quasi quaedam**: *cf. quandam quasi*, p. 13. 24.

16. aliqua vi morbi: *i.e. some acute disease.* Especially in poetry such periphrases are common, the leading noun carrying an adjective idea; *cf. Vis volneris*, p. 61. 31.

19. quibus: ablative of the way by which.

20. nisi id agat, etc.: *without making this a point and giving attention.* The latter part of the clause would normally read *et adsit animo;* but this phrasing would be awkward here, since the subject of the verb is *mens.*

21. Quid, quod: *what of the fact that.* The thought of this and the following sentence is that the mind (soul) is the seat of judgment as well as of perception.

25. ea: *i.e.* the objects of perception and judgment.

26. fert: *calls;* lit., *demands; cf. ad Fam.* v. 2. 3: *meae . . . rationes ita tulerunt.*

30. quodam modo: *to a certain extent.*

Page 22. 1. quale quidque sit: see p. 10. 20, note, *quidque* being here a form of *quisque*. **Quamvis**: adverb, modifier of *copiose*.

2. quam multa, etc.: an indirect question expanding *haec* (line 1). For *quam*, see p. 14. 10, note.

3. esset habiturus: for sequence, see p. 5. 5, note.

5. insolentiam: *peculiar attitude:* note the derivation of the word, and *cf.* Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* 23. 3: (*Curius*) *coepit . . . ferocius agitare quam solitus erat. At Fulvia insolentiae Curi causa cognita*, etc. Cicero's remarks at this point are directed against the Epicureans.

6. inventori et principi: not unusual terms to apply to the founder of a school. From the point of view of his devoted followers, whose phrase seems to be borrowed here, Epicurus might perhaps appear the founder of physical science as well as of their sect; *cf.* p. 11. 24, note, and Introd. §§ 12 and 13.

7. ut deum: *cf.* Introd. § 13, and *deus ille fuit*, Lucretius, *de Rerum Natura* v. 8. For Lucretius, see Introd. § 3.

11. vos videlicet: *you doubtless*, the remark being addressed directly to the Epicureans, as though they were present.

12. Acherunsia: *cf. Acherunte*, p. 16. 29, note. **templa**: *regions; cf.* τέμενος. The phrase here cited is an inexact quotation from the *Andromacha Aechmalotis* of Ennius; *cf.* pp. 37. 11 ff. and 46. 21 ff.

13. Non pudet, etc.: *is it not disgraceful* (*for*), etc.

16. crediturī fuerunt: see B. 304. 3. *b*, A. 517. *d*, G. 597 R. 3. *a*, H. 582, and *cf. offerret*, p. 15. 22, note.

17. nescio quid: *cf. nescio quo modo*, p. 12. 24, note. **quod**: *cf. Quia*, p. 8. 10, note.

18. ut: *even though;* so at line 21. *Cf. Ut*, p. 9. 8.

22. quid homini tribuam: *what confidence I have in the man.*

23. ipsa: *very, mere.*

24. ut . . . videatur: *that he makes it clear that he*, etc. Such a use of *videri* is not uncommon in Cicero; *e.g. de Off.* i. 38. 136: *maximeque curandum est, ut eos . . . vereri et diligere videamur; cf. ibid.* i. 33. 121. **velle**: *sc. persuadere.*

27. morte multant: *deprive of life.* **neque**: *i.e. neque tamen.*

30. Quasi vero: *cf. Quasi*, p. 7. 24, note.

32. aut; *cf. aut*, p. 8. 28, note. **si iam**: *supposing for the moment.*

Page 23. 1. casurusne . . . videatur: *whether the soul would probably come*, etc., continuing the indirect question dependent on *intellegant* (p. 22. 31). The substitution of *videatur* for *sit* weakens the expression unnecessarily.

2. sit: *would prove to be; cf. sit*, p. 18. 24, note. Strictly the periphrastic (*futura sit*) seems called for by the context (see B. 269. 3, A. 575. *a*, G. 515, H. 649. II. 1); but the use of *videatur* in the preceding clause probably influenced the choice of tense here.

3. negant: *cf. negabas*, p. 6. 30, note.

4. sine corpore: *apart from the body.* For the phrasing at this point *cf. tempus . . . post mortem*, p. 8. 31, note. **videbunt**: *i.e.* in case they take the advice given in the preceding clause. In such passages as this the conditional clause is usually suppressed (as here), or represented by *tum*. The full form of expression appears in Plautus, *Miles Glor.* 1364–1365: *Cogitato . . . tibi quam fidelis fuerim; si id facies, tum demum scibis*, etc.

5. quem intellegant: *i.e.* how little they know it. The interrogative pronoun here, as often, has the force of *qualis; cf.* Plautus, *Men.* 402, where in answer to the query '*quam tu mihi nunc navem narras?*' the person addressed unexpectedly brings out this sense of *quam* by answering '*Ligneam.*' Similarly demonstratives are sometimes used in the sense of *talis; cf. eam*, p. 18. 12, note.

6. intuenti: to be construed with *Mihi* in line 5. **multo difficilior**: (*as*) *much more difficult.*

7. alienae domui: locative.

10. id quale sit: *cf.* p. 10. 20, note. The Latin expression is proleptic in character.

11. divinum: *i.e.* akin to deity.

12. Dicaearchus . . . Aristoxenus: see p. 10. 14 and 29 with the notes there.

13. animi: a case of prolepsis; *cf. id*, line 10. **aut**: *cf. aut*, p. 8. 28, note.

15. vel: intensive with the superlative, as often.

17. ut se quisque noscat: the inscription Γνῶθι σεαυτόν ('know thyself') appeared at the entrance of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, for which *cf.* p. 9. 17, note.

21. dicit: *means; cf. dicis*, p. 6. 24.

22. quasi: *cf. quasi*, p. 10. 22, note. **aliquod**: *cf.* the use of *quandam, p.* 10. 16, note.

23. Hunc igitur, etc.: resuming the thought with which the sec-

tion began, *divinum* replacing *vel maxumum* (line 15). For *igitur* see p. 9. 24, note.

24. hoc . . . praeceptum: *i.e. Nosce te* (line 20). For the thought of the sentence as a whole *cf. de Fin.* v. 16. 44: *Quod praeceptum, quia maius erat quam ut ab homine videretur, idcirco assignatum est deo.*

28. ratio: *line of argument.* **in Phaedro**: namely, 245 C ff. The *Phaedrus* is one of Plato's dialogues.

30. de re publica: a treatise on the constitution of the ideal state, written while Cicero was still actively engaged in political life. The work was suggested by Plato's Πολιτεία. It has come down to us in a somewhat fragmentary condition. **Quod semper movetur**: *that which is ever self-moving*, the passive being here used with middle force (*i.e.* in the sense of *se movet*).

32. quando: *since.*

Page 24. **1. quod se ipsum movet**: *i.e. which generates its own motion*, — unlike the things last mentioned, which are able only to pass on to something else an impulse which they themselves have received from without.

2. ne . . . quidem: see p. 6. 8, note; so below, line 8.

3. quin etiam: *nay even*, passing on to a more striking or important statement.

4. hic . . . hoc: as usual, agreeing with the predicate; see B. 246. 5, A. 296. *a*, G. 211. R. 5, H. 396. 2. **movendi**: *i.e. motūs.* **Principii**: *of this beginning*, taking up *principium* of the preceding clause.

7. quod gigneretur aliunde: a conditional relative clause of the contrary to fact type.

9. ab alio: *from something else.*

11. Ita fit, ut, etc.: this and the following clause sum up the argument. **quod**: the relative.

13. vel: *otherwise.* The validity of this statement depends on the postulate that the universe will never come to a standstill. In what precedes (lines 8–11) there is a similar begging of the question.

14. a primo impulsa: *given an initial impulse.* The phrase *a primo* is adverbial.

16. animis: the original argument of Plato here translated appears to have been designed to apply, not merely to the souls of *men, but to soul (i.e.* life principle) in general.

17. Inanimum . . . animal: *soulless . . . possessed of soul*, the noun *animal* having here practically the force of an adjective.

19. suo: *proper to it; cf. suis*, p. 10. 27, note.

20. Quae: careless wording, the logical antecedent being *animi*. **una**: *i.e. sola*.

22. concurrant: *join forces.* **plebeii philosophi**: *cf. de Senectute* 23. 85: *minuti philosophi.* In both passages the reference is to those who deny the immortality of the soul. Because of their numbers and influence in Italy the Epicureans were doubtless most prominent in Cicero's thought; *cf.* Introd. § 3.

23. familia: *school.*

25. eleganter: *skillfully*, the idea of discrimination being inherent in this word (*e* + *lego*). The Epicureans cared little for the department of logic (*cf.* Introd. § 5 init.), and they wrote very carelessly; see Introd. §§ 3 and 13. **hoc . . . ipsum quam subtiliter conclusum sit**: *with what acumen this particular argument is framed.* Strictly the verb has here something of its literal force, — the thought is 'confined' in a logical form.

27. illud: *cf. illa*, p. 5. 13, note. **una**: the adverb.

29. efficitur aeternitas: *its immortality is proved.* The phrase is analogous to the brachylogical expression found at p. 9. 9; see the note there.

30. ad haec: (*to say*) *in reply.*

32. ita: the retrospective use of the word (*i.e.* explaining a fact previously mentioned).

Page 25. **1. Quid?** *well; cf. Quid*, p. 8. 3, note. **illa**: *those (powers)*.

3. quae si cernerem, etc.: this reads as though Cicero meant here to turn aside to develop an argument which, as a matter of fact, he does not take up until later (p. 31. 8); namely, that anything which is composite can be destroyed by being resolved into its constituent parts; the soul cannot be thus resolved; therefore it is immortal. Even so the clause begins somewhat awkwardly; for *quae* refers to the powers of the soul rather than, as strict logic would demand, to the soul itself (*cf.* the similar confusion at p. 26. 19 ff.). This inexactness the speaker starts to rectify at line 7 by *animum ipsum*, but at that point abruptly passes on to a second consideration.

5. nervos: *sinews; cf. nervorum*, p. 2. 30, note. **venas**: *blood-vessels.*

7. animum ipsum: with these words the argument just begun is abruptly broken off (*cf.* line 3, note), and, after a supplementary remark emphasizing the superiority of man's soul over the life principle of animals and plants, the speaker proceeds to an orderly exposition of his theme; namely, the godlike nature of the soul as evidenced by its functions.

9. tam . . . quam: *precisely as.* **natura**: *a (mere) innate force.*

10. haec: *i.e. things of that class.* The neuter is more inclusive than the feminine would have been; *cf.* the use of *nihil*, p. 3. 4. **etiam**: with *haec.*

11. ut appeteret aut fugeret: *i.e.* a blind instinct of attraction and repulsion.

12. quoque: *even.*

13. primum: the discussion of memory is so extended that *primum* is forgotten when the next function of the soul is taken up (p. 27. 6). **et eam**: *cf. iisque*, p. 14. 14, note.

15. volt: *cf. voluit*, p. 10. 26, note. **superioris**: *i.e.* preceding birth. For the thought *cf. de Senectute* 21. 78, and Wordsworth's *Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood.*

16. Socrates interrogat: see *Meno* 82 C ff.

17. dimensione: *mensuration.* **sic . . . ut puer**: *in boy fashion.*

19. eodem . . . quo: *cf. eodem*, p. 6. 29, note.

20. geometrica: for the use of the neuter plural *cf. Musicorum*, p. 108. 22. **ut . . . sit**: for the brachylogy see p. 9. 9, note.

21. locum: *point; cf.* the use of the plural *loci* (*vs. loca*).

22. accuratius: note the derivation of the word. **eo sermone**, etc.: as recorded in the *Phaedo* (*cf.* Introd. § 6).

23. quemvis: *any person whatsoever*, subject of *declarare* (line 25). **qui**, etc.: the clause has something of concessive shading.

24. bene interroganti: *a skillful questioner.*

25. declarare: *makes it evident.* **illa**: *i.e.* the principles brought out in the discussion; *cf.* the use of *illa*, p. 3. 29.

27. a pueris: *from childhood.*

28. consignatas: *stamped.* **notiones**: *conceptions.* **ἐννοίας**: the wording of this passage is perplexing; for the phrasing has a Stoic sound, and yet the application of the terms is quite un-Stoical. Thus both *insitas et quasi consignatas . . . notiones* and ἐννοίας are here used of *impressions* prenatal in their origin, whereas the Stoics denied

the existence of any such impressions, and employed ἔννοιαι as a technical expression for conceptions which are arrived at only by a conscious effort of the reasoning powers.

30. nihil: *i.e.* nothing belonging to the world of sense perception. **esset**: *has* (*real*) *existence.* The sequence is determined by *potuit*, p. 26. 2 (*cf. contineretur*, p. 1. 7, note).

Page 26. 1. ἰδέαν: the translation *speciem* suggests the ordinary meaning of *ἰδέα*, namely, 'form'; but, as here indicated, both the Greek word and its translation have a special technical sense. Plato's *ἰδέαι* are the unalterable essential qualities which enter into the constitution of things belonging to the world of sense, such as likeness, goodness, etc. These qualities, he held, have real existence, but not so the concrete objects which exhibit them; for the latter are ever in a state of disintegration and change (p. 25. 30–32).

2. non potuit . . . adgnoscere: *could not have grasped.* For the tense of the infinitive *cf. esse*, p. 15. 22, note. **haec**: *these latter, i.e.* the *ἰδέαι*, the sentence structure being rather loose here. For the use of the neuter *cf. illa*, p. 3. 29. The point of the whole sentence is that we receive through the avenues of the senses impressions of concrete material things only; our knowledge of the *ἰδέαι* must therefore have been gained before the soul was shut up in the body.

3. cognita: adversative asyndeton. In translating bear in mind the rendering of the participle in such phrases as *ab urbe condita.*

6. adgnoscit: *cf. adgnosco*, p. 8. 22, note, and contrast *adgnoscere* above (line 2).

9. maiore etiam quodam modo: *from an even wider point of view*, *modo* here meaning 'way (of looking at the subject)'; *cf. Quo modo*, p. 13. 3. Plato, whose argument Cicero has quoted above, made the recollections of a previous state of existence a direct argument for the immortality of the soul. Cicero's point of view is somewhat different. He is engaged in trying to prove the immortality of the soul from its godlike faculties, and he feels that he has touched on only a subordinate aspect of the faculty of memory in setting forth the power of the mind to recall certain things learned in a previous state of existence; he therefore now proceeds to a discussion of memory in the broadest sense of that term.

10. aut . . . aut: *cf. aut*, p. 8. 28, note.

12. Simonides: one of the most celebrated of the Greek lyric

poets, born in Ceos 556 B.C. **Theodectes**: a Greek tragic poet of Phaselis in Lycia. He lived in the fourth century B.C.

14. Cineas: a pupil of Demosthenes, and an orator of some ability; *cf. de Senectute* 13. 43. He died about 276 B.C. **nuper Charmadas**: an Academic philosopher and teacher of oratory who flourished about 110 B.C. Note the elastic force of *nuper* as shown by this passage.

15. Scepsius: *of Scepsis.* The adjective is prefixed to distinguish this Metrodorus from the noted Epicurean philosopher of the same name (Introd. § 13). He was a younger contemporary of Charmadas (note *modo*, line 14), and like him an adherent of the Academy. **noster Hortensius**: Cicero's great rival in oratory. The use of *noster* is perhaps designed to contrast Hortensius with the Greeks previously mentioned, or to mark the fact that he was a fellow-orator. It is true also that Cicero's relations with Hortensius were in the main friendly.

17. aliquo maiore: *some specialized.*

19. Quorsus igitur, etc.: *what is the aim*, etc. The query is answered by the following clause. **Quae sit illa vis**, etc.: having treated one of the three questions propounded above (lines 10–11), Cicero now concentrates upon the other two, trying to show that the power of memory is inexplicable except as the function of a soul akin to divinity.

20. Non . . . nec . . . nec, etc.: see B. 347. 2, A. 327. 2, G. 445, H. 656. 2.

22. istos: *i.e.* those who, in contrast to the view of the New Academy, believe that there is such a thing as absolutely certain human knowledge; *cf. sapientis*, p. 9. 21, note. For the force of the pronoun see the note on *ista*, p. 5. 25.

23. illud: object of *iurarem* (line 25), and anticipating the infinitive clause which follows.

24. sit: a violation of the rule that the imperfect subjunctive of the contrary to fact construction is secondary in its sequence (*cf.* p. 5. 5, note).

25. Quid enim: *cf. Quid*, p. 8. 3, note. **terra . . . aut sata aut concreta**: *either sprung from the earth . . . or fashioned from it.*

26. hoc . . . caelo: *with this . . . atmosphere* (*cf. caelum*, p. 20. 2), a modifier of *terra* (line 25); or possibly the phrase should be treated as an ablative of attendant circumstance. The soundness of the text, however, is not beyond question.

27. hoc: *i.e.* the power of memory; *cf.* the similar use of *haec*, line 2.

29. Quid igitur? *well then; cf. Quid enim*, line 25. **capacitatem**: *void.*

32. Qui . . . quae . . . quae: best rendered by 'how'; *cf. Quae*, p. 2. 2, note.

Page 27. **1. omnino**: *in fine.*

5. effingere: *receive the impress of*, or, more literally, *portray.*

6. Quid? illa vis, etc.: having finished with memory, Cicero now passes on to another power of the soul; *cf.* p. 25. 13, note.

8. natura: *material;* the reference here is to both lower elements, *i.e.* earth and water. *Cf.* in this connection p. 18. 23, note.

9. aut qui: *i.e. aut in eo qui*, that is, *either in the case of the man who.*

12. paucis . . . notis terminavit: *reduced to a few written symbols.* Strictly the ablative is one of means; *cf.* p. 3. 5, note.

13. errantium stellarum: translating the Greek πλάνητες ἀστέρες, *i.e.* 'planets,' the English name being derived from the Greek.

14. praegressiones, institiones: as morning stars, the planets seem at first to outstrip the sun in his course, then to come to a standstill with reference to him, and finally to move backward.

15. etiam superiores: *even those of an earlier time.*

16. cultum: *comfort.*

18. defluximus: *i.e.* we, the human race.

19. varietate et natura: if these words be taken as furnishing an example of hendiadys, the whole phrase may be rendered 'through the discovery of the natural variety of sounds and the arrangement of the same;' *lit.*, 'the natural variety of sounds being discovered and regulated,' *temperata* referring, for example, to the arrangement of tones in a musical instrument; *cf.* p. 10. 17, note, and p. 19. 2, note.

21. re . . . vocabulo: a mere variant on the more common *re . . . verbo.* **errantia**: see line 13, note.

22. conversiones: *revolutions.* It was generally thought that the planets revolve about the earth, and at varying distances from it (*cf.* p. 18. 10, note). **omnisque motus**: *cf.* line 14, note.

24. Archimedes: a celebrated mathematician born at Syracuse in 287 B.C. He is credited with many other mechanical inventions in addition to the celestial sphere here mentioned. When quaestor in *Sicily, Cicero* sought out and brought to light the forgotten tomb of

this distinguished man; *cf.* p. 109. 6 ff. **quinque errantium**: namely, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn.

25. inligavit: *attached.*

26. ille: with *Platonis deus* (lines 26–27). **Timaeo**: the name of a dialogue of Plato in which the construction of the universe is discussed. A free translation of this work made by Cicero has also survived, but in a very fragmentary condition.

27. ut: *namely that; cf.* the use of *ut*, p. 20. 19.

30. potuisset: *cf. offerret*, p. 15. 22, note.

32. ut . . . putem: *so that I should think*, a loosely attached result clause. A phrase more directly explanatory of *haec* (line 31) might have been expected.

Page 28. **1. instinctu**: *inspiration.*

5. ut Plato: *sc. censet*, or the like.

6. illorum: *i.e.* the gods. **ius hominum**: *the rights of mankind.* The thought of the sentence from this point on is that the study of philosophy is the source of the four cardinal virtues, *iustitia*, *temperantia* (*modestia*), *fortitudo* (*magnitudo animi*), and *sapientia.*

8. eadem: often a form of *idem* is best rendered by an adverb.

9. omnia: expanded by the asyndetic groups following. Asyndeton is common in phrases made up of contrasted expressions.

11. Prorsus: *beyond a doubt.* This meaning is not far removed from the familiar signification 'outright.'

13. id: *a capacity.* **quo**: to be construed with *maius* (line 14); *cf.* p. 3. 4, note.

15. Iuventate: more familiar under the Greek name Hebe.

16. nec . . . audio: *and I do not believe.*

17. formam: the idea of beauty is closely associated with this word; *cf. formosus.* **bibere ministraret**: *cf. bibere dare.* See A. 460. *a*, G. 421. N. 1. *b*, and *cf.* B. 326. N., H. 608. 3.

18. non iusta causa, cur: *no adequate reason for.* The nominative with its dependent clause is appended somewhat loosely as a comment on *ut . . . ministraret*, the comment being designed to discredit this statement of Homer's (*cf.* the emphatic position of *Fingebat* in the following sentence). **Laomedonti**: the father of Ganymedes.

20. mallem: *sc. transtulisset.*

27. inducta primum: see p. 11. 13, note fin.

29. Consolatione: see Introd. § 17. **expressimus**: *have rendered (it).*

32. nihil ne . . . quidem: see B. 347. 2, A. 327. 1, G. 445, H. 656. 2, and *cf. ne . . . quidem*, p. 6. 8, note.

Page 29. **1. flabile**: *i.e. of air; cf.* ***animalis***, p. 18. 16. **naturis**: *elements;* so *natura*, line 6.

4. quae sola divina sunt: a phrase of doubtful meaning. Possibly *sola* has here adverbial force, 'qualities which are *wholly* divine.' **nec invenietur . . . unde . . . venire possint**: *i.e. a source will never be found from which they could come*, etc., *unde* being here a relative (rather than an interrogative) word; *cf.* Pliny, *Ep.* ii. 20. 9: *est unde fiat*, 'there is material out of which to make one.' For the use of the adverb here seen *cf. quo* (*pervenerimus*), p. 20. 24, note. Similar suppression of the antecedent occurs in the familiar *sunt qui, nemo est qui*, etc.

9. ob eamque rem: *and for that reason*, connecting the two adjectives merely.

10. qui intellegitur, etc.: *as understood by us.*

11. nisi mens: *excepting* (*as*) *mind.*

12. concretione mortali: *admixture with perishable matter.*

15. aut: *cf. aut*, p. 8. 28, note. **qualis**: *of what appearance.*

16. si omnia, etc.: *i.e.* if I have not all the data I should like to have for arriving at an understanding of this matter.

20. videt: *comprehend.*

21. quamquam: see p. 2. 15, note fin. **id**: *sc. videt.* The neuter is used loosely, referring to *formam* (line 20); *cf.* the use of *illa*, p. 3. 29. **Sed relinquamus**: *but we'll waive* (*that point*). Strictly the expression is hortatory; but, in the mouth of a public speaker, such phrases often are little more than an announcement of what he himself proposes to do.

24. aut: *cf. aut*, line 15. **ne quaerendum quidem est**: *need not even be asked* (to say nothing of framing an answer to the question). The negatived gerundive is frequently best thus rendered by 'need not'; *cf. de Senectute* 19. 70: *neque . . . histrioni . . . peragenda fabula est*, etc.

26. Ut: correlative with *Sic* (p. 30. 27), though the first member of the comparison is so long and complicated that the whole lacks somewhat in unity. **primum**: *cf. dein*, line 27.

27. conversionis: see p. 18. 10, note.

28. vicissitudines dierum ac noctium: *alternation of day and night.* For the use of the plural, cf. cantibus, p. 2. 30, note.

30. maturitatem . . . temperationem: *maturing . . . conditioning.*

32. fastorum: *the calendar.* Before the reform instituted by Julius Caesar the lunar month of 29 days was the standard.

Page 30. **1. eodem orbe**: *i.e.* the zodiac, a belt in the heavens along the centre of which the sun appears to move, and in which lie the constellations known as the twelve signs of the zodiac.

2. quinque stellas: *i.e.* the planets; *cf.* p. 27. 24, note fin.

4. formam: *panorama; cf.* p. 28. 17, note.

5. tum globum, etc.: the dry land is conceived of as surrounded by the sea. At this point in the long sentence *videmus* (p. 29. 26) is forgotten; the accusatives now added would fit most readily with something like *animo complectimur.* **fixum**, etc.: *cf.* p. 18. 10, and the note there.

6. duabus oris distantibus: *i.e.* the two temperate zones (*cf.* p. 21. 9, and the note on p. 21. 10). The ablative is one of specification.

8. Sub axe, etc.: iambic trimeter. The lines are perhaps from the *Philocteta* of Lucius Accius, a poet who is classed with the early Roman dramatists, but who was still alive in Cicero's youth. **posita**: *sc. est.* **horrifer Aquilonis stridor**: for *Aquilonis stridor* see p. 21. 16, note. The adjective *horrifer* is perhaps a transferred epithet, *i.e.* properly an attribute of *Aquilo*, but by transfer applied to something pertaining to that wind (namely, *stridor*). Such transfer is common in poetry; *cf. Iunonis terror inplacabilis*, p. 62. 10.

9. molitur: *heaps up; cf. moles.*

11. ἀντίχθονα: *the antipodes; cf. de Re P.* vi. 20. 21: *australis ille (cingulus), in quo qui insistunt adversa vobis urgent vestigia.*

14. Caelum, etc.: iambic trimeter. The source of the verses is
7 unknown.

18. scatere: with short penult. Such collateral forms of verbs of the second conjugation are not uncommon before the Ciceronian period. **convestirier**: archaic form of the present passive infinitive.

21. quasi: *as though (designed to be)*, *i.e.* endowed with a mind that can appreciate the works of nature and which reaches out after God; *cf. de Nat. D.* ii. 14. 37: *Ipse autem homo ortus est ad mundum contemplandum et imitandum.*

23. haec igitur, etc.: this sentence sums up the long *ut*-clause beginning at p. 29. 26, *igitur* being used in the resumptive sense (as at p. 9. 24).

27. muneris: *display; cf.* the use of *munus* as a designation for games given to the people.

31. vim divinam mentis: by the introduction of this phrase into the sentence there is a gain in precision, but *mentem* (line 27) is left without grammatical construction.

Page 31. 1. equidem: see p. 11. 30, note.

2. adferre: *sc. rationem.* **possum**: *I could; cf.* B. 271. 1. *a*, A. 437. *a*, G. 254. R. 1, H. 525. 1. **alias**: adverb; *sc. exponam.*

3. Propria . . . et sua: *unique . . . and proper to itself; cf. suis*, p. 10. 27, note. Cicero here inclines to the view mentioned at p. 28. 26 ff.

4. Sed fac: *but suppose.* **igneam**: *sc. esse.* **nihil**: *sc. attinet.*

9. plane . . . plumbei: *absolute dullards; cf.* the use of *plane*, p. 7. 23.

13. ne . . . quidem: *cf. ne . . . quidem*, p. 6. 8, note.

17. ad iudicium capitis: *i.e. when on trial for his life*, or, more literally, *for the (occasion of his) trial on a capital charge.* It is said that Socrates refused to make use of a speech which the orator Lysias had composed for him to deliver on this occasion. His own reply to the charges made against him is reported in Plato's *Apology* (*cf.* Introd. § 6).

18. liberam contumaciam: *independent demeanor.*

19. ductam: *arising (from).* **de hoc ipso**: *i.e.* on the immortality of the soul. The conversation here referred to is reported in Plato's *Phaedo* (Introd. § 6).

20. paucis ante diebus: a phrase of somewhat elastic meaning. The interval of time here referred to amounts to but two days; but elsewhere (*in Cat.* iii. 1. 3) the same words are used of an interval of nearly a month.

21. educi: for the tense see note on *esse*, p. 15. 22. The circumstances here referred to are described in Plato's *Crito* (Introd. § 6). **noluit**: *he refused.*

29. fraudes . . . concepissent: *committed . . . wrongs.* **iis**: the fact that the sentence begins with (*nam*) *qui* (line 26) leads the reader to assume an accusative antecedent. The unexpected intro-

duction of the dative is rather awkward, though such sentence structure is by no means unparalleled; *cf.* p. 93. 27 ff. **devium**: *distant.*

32. minima . . . contagio, etc.: *cf. Frag. Phil.* ix. 12 fin. M. (from the *Consolatio;* Introd. § 17): *Nec enim omnibus iidem illi sapientes arbitrati sunt eundem cursum in caelum patere; nam vitiis et sceleribus contaminatos deprimi in tenebras atque in caeno iacere docuerunt, castos autem, puros, integros, incorruptos, . . . leni quodam et facili lapsu ad deos . . . pervolare.* Plato taught that the soul may even become impregnated with gross corporeal matter so as to be visible to the human eye, such defiled souls lingering about tombs as ghosts; *cf. Phaedo* 81 B ff.

Page 32. **4. Apollini**: *cf.* p. 9. 17, note.

5. qua providentes: strict logic would require *qua provideant.* As the sentence now stands *moriantur* (line 6), which should depend on *ut* (line 3), becomes grammatically the verb of the relative clause.

6. boni: for they too were thought of as participating in the life to come. **cantu et voluptate**: this phrase may be treated as an example of hendiadys.

7. de hoc: *cf. de hoc ipso*, p. 31. 19.

9. usu venit: *has happened.*

10. deficientem: *in eclipse.* **intuerentur**: the mood is adapted to *cum*, which apparently does not belong in the text.

11. ut: introducing a substantive clause explanatory of *quod . . . usu venit* (lines 9–10); *cf.* the use of *ut*, p. 20. 19. **aspectum**: *(the power of) sight; cf.* p. 125. 21 and 26. **acies**: *eye.*

12. se ipsa intuens: *engaged in introspection; cf. ipse*, p. 12. 26, note.

14. reverens: *dreading*, a use of the word rarely found in Cicero.

16. haec: *i.e.* the example and words of Socrates. **Cato**: *i.e.* Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis, who committed suicide after the overthrow of the republican cause at Thapsus (46 B.C.). On the night of his death he is said to have read through Plato's *Phaedo* (Introd. § 6). Cato had long been noted for his high ideals and virtuous life, and the climax of his voluntary death made him a national hero. On his attitude toward philosophy, see Introd. § 23.

18. Vetat . . . iniussu . . . suo, etc.: a view traced to Pythagoras and the mysteries (p. 14. 9, note); *cf. de Senectute* 20. 73, and Plato, *Phaedo* 61 C ff. **in nobis**: not *in nos.*

19. causam iustam: the Stoic school (to which Cato belonged)

assumed that, if circumstances became unendurable, a philosopher was thereby provided with a just ground for taking his own life.

20. ne: *assuredly;* not to be confused with the negative *ne*. *Cf.* Greek *νή*.

21. ille . . . vir sapiens: *cf. sapientis*, p. 9. 21, note. The pronoun *ille* may here be rendered by the definite article. **medius fidius**: *i.e. ita me dius fidius iuvet, so may the god of truth help me; cf. mehercules.*

22. excesserit: future perfect indicative, indicating speedy consummation of the action, a use of the tense common in early Latin. **nec tamen . . . ruperit**: *and yet (in so doing) he will not have broken.*

23. leges enim vetant: probably a marginal comment that has found its way into the text. If the words are Cicero's own, the difficulty of the reading is partly cleared up by supposing *leges* to refer to the unwritten divine law.

24. potestate legitima: *authorized official*, the abstract noun being used in the concrete sense; *cf.* the use of *magistratus*.

26. idem: *i.e.* Plato. **commentatio mortis**: *preparation for death.* This thought is more fully presented in Plato's *Phaedo* 64 A ff. The point is that the body with its wants and desires distracts the mind and keeps it from the undisturbed exercise of its own high function; therefore those on the earth who succeed best in living a thought life, untrammelled by the intrusion of fleshly desires, are best prepared for the state after death when the soul is at last free from every earthly weight.

30. nisi . . . advocamus: *other than call.*

31. secum esse: *cf. de Senectute* 14. 49: *secum esse secumque . . . vivere.* These expressions are analogous to the colloquial 'be by one's self,' etc.

Page 33. **1. mihi crede**: *I beg you.*

3. Hoc. et: this order of words suggests that *hoc* is to belong to the second *et*-clause also; but the sentence at that point (line 4) takes another turn.

7. ferro: *i.e. vinculis.*

8. Quo: *i.e.* to the heavens; *cf. quo* (*pervenerimus*), p. 20. 24, note.

9. mors est: *i.e.* in comparison with the real life just mentioned.

10. Consolatione: *cf.* Introd. § 17.

11. has res: *i.e.* the things of earth. **his**: the words of *M.* above.

15. ut . . . sit: a substantive clause expanding *eo; cf.* the use of *ut*, p. 20. 19, note, and see A. 571. *b*, G. 552. R. 1, H. 570. 2.

16. verear, ne: *I am inclined to think that.*

17. potius: adjective, *to be preferred; cf. potissimum*, p. 19. 16, note. **vel di ipsi**: *cf.* p. 28. 23.

19. Quid refert? *what matters that? i.e.* whether the soul lives on among the gods or is annihilated. On either hypothesis *A.* is convinced that death is no evil, and he does not see the need of discussing further the state of the soul after death.

20. enim: (*it does matter*), *for: M.'s* point is that many do not believe in the doctrine of immortality (*haec*), and that some of these may fear annihilation; consequently, for their sake, further discussion is necessary.

21. ita: *lit. under such circumstances.* **te . . . dimittam**: *let you off.*

23. Qui: *how.* **ista**: *cf. isto*, p. 6. 15, note.

26. nescio quo modo: see p. 12. 24, note.

27. deliciae meae: *my favorite*, a frequent use of the word. *Cf. cantibus*, p. 2. 30, note. The fact that Dicaearchus wrote in a popular style may explain Cicero's liking for his writings, despite their divergent views (*cf.* p. 10. 29, note).

29. Lesbiaci: another work of Dicaearchus on the same topic is mentioned at p. 10. 29 ff.

31. usuram: *lease (of life); cf. diu permanere*, p. 9. 29, note. **cornicibus**: it was thought that the measure of the crow's life is nine generations of men.

32. semper: *sc. mansuros.*

Page 34. **1. Num**: the question is colored by a remembrance of *A.'s* rejoinders at p. 33. 19 and 23.

3. immortalitate: *i.e.* the belief in immortality.

4. nihil: an adverbial accusative, *in nothing.*

5. aliquo acute concluso: *some skillful argument.* For the participle used as a noun and yet modified by an adverb *cf. recte factorum, Tusc. Disp.* iii. 2. 3, and the more common and stereotyped *bene facta.*

7. Id . . . si acciderit: *i.e.* if our conviction begins to waver.

11. dico: *cf. dicis*, p. 6. 24, note. **qui aiunt**, etc.: *cf. diu permanere, p. 9. 29, note.*

13. Istos vero: *sc. dimittamus.*

16. consequens: *a necessary consequence.* **id**: repeating *illud* (line 15), and expanded by the following *ut*-clause; *cf.* the use of *ut*, p. 20. 19, and see the note there.

17. ut . . . ne intereat: for the brachylogy, *cf.* p. 9. 9, note.

19. Panaetio: see Introd. § 11. **suo**: Panaetius was inclined to tone down somewhat the rigidity of the Stoic system of philosophy, harking back to Plato and others of that earlier period.

23. Volt: *cf. voluit*, p. 10. 26, note.

24. nasci autem, etc.: continuing the indirect discourse, and adding the minor premise of the syllogism. *Cf.* the use of *atqui* (*e.g.* p. 101. 12) and *at* (*e.g.* p. 101. 18) in such connections as this.

25. quod: *i.e. id quod.* **similitudo**: *resemblance* (to their parents).

31. sunt enim ignorantis: *for they are* (*the arguments*) *of a person who does not realize* (*that*).

Page 35. 1. partibus iis, etc.: on Plato's division of the *animus*, see p. 10. 24 ff.

3. Iam: as at p. 1. 18.

6. magni: see B. 211. 3. *a*, A. 355. *b*. N. 2, G. 382. 1, H. 449. 3.

9. melancholicos: *atrabilious* (*i.e.* 'having black bile' or 'insane'). *Cf. de Div.* i. 38. 81: *Aristoteles quidem eos etiam, qui valetudinis vitio furerent et melancholici dicerentur, censebat habere aliquid in animis praesagiens atque divinum.* The sentiment that genius is a sort of madness has become a commonplace. **ut**: result.

10. tardiorem: *a bit dull; cf. serius*, p. 2. 11, note. The clause is added jestingly.

11. idque quasi constet: *and, assuming his point proved.* **rationem . . . adfert**: namely, that the temperature of the bile of geniuses is the cause of its inspirational effect.

13. ea: referring to the same things as *iis* (line 12).

14. nihil necessitatis . . . cur: *no cogent reason for* (*supposing that*). For the brachylogy, *cf.* p. 9. 9, note. A fuller form of expression is found at p. 14. 16 ff.

15. Omitto dissimilitudines: not entirely; for two specific and striking instances are mentioned, though without discussion. For the use of the plural, *cf. cantibus*, p. 2. 30, note.

17. Africano: the Younger; *cf.* Introd. § 11. **cuius**: dependent on *similis.*

18. nepos: *i.e.* Quintus Fabius Maximus. The difference in name is due to the fact that Africanus and his brother were by birth of the Aemilian family, one becoming a Cornelius Scipio and the other a Fabius through adoption. **vel patris**: (*like*) *his father, if you will; cf.* the use of *vel* at p. 11. 5, and see the note there.

20. P. Crassi: perhaps the father of the triumvir. The reference however may be to another Publius Licinius Crassus, who was consul in 205 B.C. with Africanus the Elder. But at any rate the grandson in question seems to have been distinguished only for his profligacy.

21. primi: *of the first rank.*

23. Sed quid agimus? a common formula for cutting short a digression. **hoc nunc nobis esse propositum**: *that this was now our thesis.*

25. ne: to be construed with *quidem.*

30. contingat: here, as often, of a desirable contingency. Contrast the use of *accidere.* **Sed fac**: *cf.* the same phrase at p. 31. 4.

31. volunt: *cf. voluit*, p. 10. 26, note.

Page 36. **4. insimulat**: *charges* (*with this view*). Democritus exposed himself to this charge through the fact that, in his exposition of the atomic theory (Introd. § 5. *c*), he taught that soul-particles were diffused through the whole body, and that all of these did not escape instantaneously at death. **Democritii**: *the followers of Democritus.* **Ne . . . quidem**: *cf. ne . . . quidem*, p. 6. 8, note.

8. Ut: concessive; *cf. Ut*, p. 9. 8. **quam**: *cf. quam*, p. 14. 10, note.

9. fit: *sc. discessus.*

11. ad: *in; cf. ad decem milia annorum*, p. 40. 7, and the note there.

12. Illud: *cf.* p. 5. 13, note fin. The sentence as a whole anticipates an objection or rejoinder to what has just been said. *At* or *at enim* is frequently prefixed to such statements; *cf.* pp. 39. 24 and 102. 22.

13. Vide, ne: *consider whether . . . not* (*lit. see to it lest*), a formula by which the hearer is exhorted not to be caught napping by a truth which he may be in some danger of ignoring.

15. possum: *I might; cf. possum*, p. 31. 2, note. **cum id agam, ne**: *when this is my aim, that . . . not; cf. id agat*, p. 21. 20.

17. Fecimus hoc: said with reference to *deplorando.* The book here referred to is the *Consolatio* (Introd. § 17).

20. Cyrenaico: for the Cyrenaic School, see the note on line 23, and Introd. §§ 7 and 12. It is not certain under which Ptolemy Hegesias lived.

22. scholis: *cf. scholas*, p. 4. 7, note.

23. mortem sibi ipsi consciscerent: the Cyrenaic school held that pleasure is the *summum bonum;* since a life of unmixed pleasure is impossible of attainment, Hegesias advocated suicide. **Callimachi**: a Greek scholar and poet, chief representative of the Alexandrian School. He was curator of the library at Alexandria from about 260 to 240 B.C.

24. in . . . Cleombrotum: *on . . . Cleombrotus.* There is no idea of hostility necessarily involved in such a phrase as that here found.

26. Platonis libro: *i.e. the Phaedo* (Introd. § 6); *cf.* what is said of Cato, p. 32. 16, note. **Eius**: modifier of *Hegesiae* (line 27).

27. Ἀποκαρτερῶν: *the man who starves himself to death.*

30. ille: *i.e.* Hegesias. **omnino . . . nemini**: *absolutely no one.*

31. Mitto: *i.e. omitto.* **etiam**: *even.*

32. domesticis . . . solaciis: said with reference to the place which Tullia had filled in the family circle. **forensibus . . . ornamentis**: referring to the honors of public life; see Introd. § 2.

Page 37. **2. Sit igitur aliquis**: *let us take, therefore, some one.* In this and the following section, Cicero means to say that even Metellus was at all times at the mercy of fortune, and *might* at any time have fallen into such distress as overtook Priam; an early death, therefore, is in general desirable, for it cuts off at any rate the possibility of woes that *might* otherwise assail one.

4. Metellus ille: *i.e.* Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, so called on account of his conquest of Macedonia in 148 B.C. *Ille* in the sense 'that famous' is apt to be postpositive. **honoratis . . . filiis**: ablative of characteristic; *cf. in Cat.* i. 2. 4: *C. Gracchus, clarissimo patre, avo, maioribus.* Here, as often, ***honoratus*** refers to the holding of public office (*honores*). Metellus saw three of his sons reach the consulship, and the fourth the praetorship.

5. Priamus: *sc. erat.* **iusta**: *lawful.*

6. natis: a curious case of attraction. The sense demands *nati* (*sunt*); but the participle agrees instead with the preceding ablatives.

7. *in altero*: *in the case of one (of the two).*

8. in rogum inposuerunt: it was felt to be the final touch of good fortune to die with loved ones prosperous and the family circle otherwise unbroken; *cf.* Tacitus, *Agricola* 44.

11. astante ope barbarica: *with the barbarian forces standing by loyally.* The verse is anapaestic dimeter, and the lines are from the *Andromacha Aechmalotis* of Ennius. Andromache (who is the speaker at this point in the drama) may be using *ope barbarica* as a designation for the Phrygian allies of the Trojans; or possibly the poet carelessly represents her as referring to the Trojans themselves in terms which a Greek or Roman would naturally apply to them.

12. Tectis: *ceilings.* The passage is quoted more fully in *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 19. 44, where it is seen that in the original these two lines refer to Priam's palace. Here they are used loosely apart from their context to describe that unhappy king's one-time prosperity.

13. Tum: *under those circumstances.*

16. Haec omnia, etc.: a part of the same passage from which lines 11–12 are a quotation.

17. vi vitam evitari: note the alliteration; also the derivation of *evitare* (*e* + *vita*).

19. Quasi vero, etc.: *cf. Quasi*, p. 7. 24, note. **ista vi**: with the comparative; *cf.* p. 3. 4, note.

21. amisisset: *would have missed.*

22. Pompeio . . . melius est factum: *i.e.* he rallied, *melius* referring to his improved state of health. The illness here referred to occurred just before the civil war broke out.

24. nimirum etiam: *of course . . . too;* the inhabitants of the smaller town were bound to imitate those of the larger. **volgo**: *everywhere.* **publice**: *officially.*

25. Graeculum: *Greekish*, the diminutive expressing contempt.

26. fortunatum: *in the category of good fortune.*

28. socero: in 59 B.C. Pompey married Julia, the daughter of Julius Caesar.

30. nudus: *defenseless.* After the defeat at Pharsalus Pompey fled to Egypt, where, as he was landing, he was murdered treacherously by agents of that government, his own attendants being too much frightened to think of anything but their own safety. **in servorum ferrum et manus**: *upon the steel and into the hands of slaves.*

31. non liberi defleti: as a matter of fact the sons outlived the father; *and possiderentur* too (p. 38. 1) refers to a time subsequent

to Pompey's death. The bracketed words, therefore, are probably an interpolation.

Page 38. **1. tum**: *i.e.* at the time of his illness (p. 37. 22 ff.).

3. hausit: *drained the cup of.*

4. Haec morte effugiuntur, etc.: with these words Cicero brings out clearly the thought which he began to develop at p. 37. 6; (*cf.* p. 37. 2, note). For *Haec*, *cf.* p. 25. 10, note. **evenerunt**: here, as often in the present general condition, the perfect may be rendered by a present in English.

7. proinde quasi: *just as though; cf. Quasi*, p. 7. 24, note.

11. ergo etiam: *does this then mean also that . . . ?*

12. miserum: here again *M.* recognizes only the subjective sense of this word; see p. 6. 23, note.

13. An: here hardly more than an adversative conjunction; *cf. An*, p. 18. 3.

14. subicitur: *there underlies.*

17. Valet . . . in vivis: *holds good in the case of the living.*

18. non modo: see B. 343. 2. *a*, A. 217. *e*, G. 482. R. 1, H. 656. 3.

19. nulli sunt: *cf.* p. 6. 16, note.

20. sic: *in this sense* (*i.e.* in the sense above explained).

21. ecquis: *cf. ecquid*, p. 7. 8, note.

22. habeas . . . careas . . . sentias: *cf.* B. 356. 3, A. 518. *a*, G. 595. R. 3, H. 578. 2, 600. II. 2. The wide extent of this use is emphasized in *Classical Philology*, I, p. 21 ff.

23. Hoc . . . argumentum: namely, that souls in a state of annihilation could not experience a feeling of loss.

25. illo: this word would naturally be expanded by *tantum interitum in morte esse;* but quite illogically a *quin*-clause is chosen instead, through the influence of *dubitare non possumus*. The point which the speaker here cites was developed at p. 36. 1 ff.

27. hoc: referring to *illo* (line 25).

28. illud excutiendum est: *the following question must be looked into; cf.* the use of *illa*, p. 5. 13, note. The addition of *ut sciatur* (purpose clause) is somewhat awkward, for it too is capable of governing the indirect question which follows.

30. Carere: since this section is given up largely to definition, it is permissible to retain the Latin word in the English rendering.

31. velle: *desiring* (verbal noun).

32. in febri dicitur: *is used in reference to fever.* **notione verbi**: *signification of the word.*

Page 39. **1. etiam**: *i.e.* in addition to the meaning assigned at p. 38. 30–31. This clause defines more fully the force of the word in such phrases as *febri carere* (p. 38. 32).

3. non dicitur: *i.e.* by those whose fear of annihilation Cicero would allay. **esset**: contrary to fact. The protasis is implied by the preceding negative clause. **dicitur**: *cf. dicis*, p. 6. 24, note.

5. indiget: the argument would be more precise if the verb *velle*, with which the discussion began (p. 38. 31), were used here also; however, *indigere* may be counted a fairly exact synonym. **intellegi . . . potest**: *it is conceivable.*

6. regno te carere: (*for example*) *that you*, etc. A similar case of brachylogy is found in Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* 15. 1. **(in) te**: ablative. **satis subtiliter**: *with sufficient exactness.*

7. posset: for the mood, *cf. offerret*, p. 15. 22, note. **Tarquinio**: *sc. Superbo.* **cum . . . esset expulsus**: causal. For the sequence, see p. 5. 5, note.

14. timeretur: for the tense, *cf. haereret*, p. 13. 22, note. **L. Brutus**: a leader in the expulsion of the Tarquins, and one of Rome's first two consuls (or *praetores*, as they were then called).

17. se hostium telis obiecissent: such an act of voluntary self-sacrifice was thought to secure to the Roman arms the victory that sometimes followed.

18. Scipiones: *i.e.* the father and uncle of Scipio Africanus the Elder. They fell in 212 B.C., fighting against Hasdrubal.

19. Paulum et Geminum: *i.e.* Lucius Aemilius Paulus (consul 216 B.C.), and Gnæus Servilius Geminus (consul 217 B.C.).

20. Marcellum: *i.e.* Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who fell in 208 B.C., fighting against Hannibal. **Litana**: the name of a forest in which Lucius Postumius Albinus was cut off in a battle with the Gauls in 216 B.C. **Lucani**: the use of the name of a people to designate a district is not uncommon. Here it was an especially convenient device; for the name *Lucania* seems not to have come into use until later. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus lost his life in this district during the manœuvres against Hannibal in 212 B.C.

24. At: here, as often, marking the introduction of a supposed objection. In the reply Cicero does not meet the issue squarely; *cf.* p. 38. 12, note.

25. nihil posse in eo esse, qui: *nothing can be experienced in the case of* (*i.e. by*) *one who.*

28. nimis saepe: *sc. dicimus.* **sed eo, quod**: *but* (*I do it*) *for this reason, that.* **in hoc inest**: *herein lies.*

29. contractio: *shrinking; cf. contraxit*, p. 72. 8.

31. universo: *complete.*

Page 40. 1. hippocentaurum: a creature of the imagination, half man and half horse.

2. Agamemnonem: the mention in this connection of a hero of the Trojan war shows that Cicero was not troubled by a doubt as to the authenticity of Homer's narrative. **pluris facere**: see B. 203. 3. *a*, A. 417, G. 380. 1, H. 448. 1. **M. Camillum**: recalled from exile by the Romans to take command after the city had fallen into the hands of the Gauls in 390 B.C.

3. hoc civile bellum: these words were perhaps written early enough to make them a proper designation of the struggle between Caesar and the Pompeian party (*cf. discessum*, p. 4. 8, note). Otherwise the reference is to the strife that broke out after Caesar's death.

5. Cur igitur, etc.: (*do you ask*) *then . . . what reason there was for Camillus to grieve*, etc. Indirect questions with implied verb of asking are found occasionally in Cicero; *e.g. p. Rab. Post.* 3. 6. For the tense of *doleret*, see A. 575. *b*, G. 509. 2. 4. Up to this point, adhering strictly to his program, Cicero has striven to show that death is no evil, even *if* death means annihilation. But here (pp. 40. 5 to 41. 3), led on by his subject or by an authority from whom he is borrowing, he forgets the 'if,' and becomes for the time being an advocate of the doctrine of annihilation itself, thereby marring somewhat the unity of the book as a whole (*cf.* Introd. §§ 20-21). Thus he here (line 5 ff.) entertains a query which might rise in the mind of one who was not quite convinced of the annihilation of the soul at death, and to clear up such a doubt, he gives an answer (*Quia*, etc., line 8) which discredits one of his main arguments for the immortality of the soul (p. 14. 31 ff.).

7. ad: *in the course of; cf. ad*, p. 36. 11. **urbem nostram**: the accusative is common in early Latin with verbs of the category to which *potiri* belongs. The present example is a sporadic case of the survival of the early construction; *cf.* Terence, *Adel.* 871: *patria potitur commoda.*

9. eam: referring to *caritas* (line 8). The thought of the sentence is that in the matter of our love for the state we use a larger measure than the brief span of an individual life.

12. in omne tempus: *for all time.*

15. etiam . . . iudicantem: *even one judging (that).* A participle with *licet* regularly stands in the accusative when, as here, the subject of the participle is an unexpressed indefinite.

17. etiamsi tu id non agas: *even though you do not aim at this result; cf. nisi id agat*, p. 21. 20, note. For the mood of the verb, see p. 38. 22, note.

18. consequatur: the sense of the passage would seem to call for the indicative here; for this clause is not really parallel to *quam sensurus non sit* (line 16). There a causal shading can be discerned.

20. ut nihil: with these words the apodosis begins.

21. In quo: *i.e.* in annihilation.

23. nulli sunt: *cf. nulli sint*, p. 6. 16, note. **non attinget**: *will not affect.* In this passage *mors* (line 22) does not refer to the moment of dissolution, but to the subsequent state of being dead. According to the view here advocated, those now alive will then too be *nulli* — undisturbed by thoughts of their own state or by any other thing.

24. Quam qui leviorem faciunt: *those who try to make it less dreadful.*

25. volunt: *cf. voluit*, p. 10. 26, note. The analogy between sleep and death is one that appeals to the poet; *e.g.* "Death and his brother Sleep" (Shelley), "O sleep, thou ape of death" (Shakespeare), etc. **Quasi vero**, etc.: derisive in tone, and voicing the speaker's contempt for those who shrink from meeting the issue of annihilation squarely; *cf. Quasi*, p. 7. 24, note. **ita**: *on this condition.*

27. sui: *his relatives.* **non modo ipse**: *to say nothing of the man himself.* **Endymion**: according to the tradition here followed, a shepherd or hunter of Caria.

28. audire: *give ear to; cf. nec . . . audio*, p. 28. 16. **ut**: temporal, *since.* **nescio quando**: *cf. nescio quo modo*, p. 12. 24, note.

29. opinor: *I fancy*, spoken contemptuously.

31. laboret: *is in eclipse.*

32. Quid curet autem: *moreover, why should he care?* a repudiating question. Such questions, as well as the deliberative, are usually *of the first person.* They are sometimes introduced by -ne, an, ut,

or interrogatives derived from the stem of *quis; cf.* B. 277, A. 444. *a*, 462. *a*, G. 259, 558, H. 559. 5.

Page 41. **1. Habes somnum imaginem mortis**: *have you* (*in*) *sleep a likeness of death . . .* ?

2. et: *i.e. et tamen; cf. et*, p. 3. 21.

3. esse nullum sensum: a wholly unwarranted assumption. In fact the argument for annihilation is weakened rather than strengthened by the reference to the analogy between sleep and death; for 'to sleep — perchance to dream' is, with different connotations, the natural connection of thought among men of every country and age. What is said here in the text does not, of course, represent Cicero's own view; he is simply setting forth the argument for annihilation as he finds it (*cf.* p. 40. 5, note). In *de Senectute* 22. 81 he gladly accepts the activity of the mind (*animus*) in sleep as an argument for its immortality.

5. Quod . . . tempus? the preposition *ante* is carried along in thought from the preceding clause. A preposition is not infrequently thus omitted, especially (as here) in a short question echoing a preceding remark.

6. usuram: *lease; cf.* p. 33. 31.

7. die: *day* (*for payment*). **Quid est igitur, quod querare**: *what reason, therefore, have you for complaining? quod* is here adverbial accusative, *lit.* 'as to which.'

9. Iidem, si, etc.: in this passage Cicero pursues the tactics of the law court. Note the short statement and quick retort, the aim being to discredit the opponent by showing at each turn that he is illogical or inconsistent; *cf.* the dialogue passage in *p. Sulla* 13. 38 ff.

11. hoc: *i.e.* the babe.

12. inquit: *says he, i.e.* my opponent. This use of *inquit* without a definite subject is common in Cicero's philosophical works. **hic**: *i.e.* the lad.

13. id: anticipating *aliquam partem . . . attingere.*

14. melius: in predicate relation to *id* (line 13).

15. Quamquam: *cf. quamquam*, p. 2. 15, note.

16. Callimachus: see p. 36. 23, note.

17 Troilum: son of Priam, slain by Achilles; *cf.* Vergil, *Aen.* i. 474 ff.

19. nam, etc.: (*and this I ask*), *for . . .*

21. ut: *granted that; cf. Ut*, p. 9. 8, note.

24. Modo . . . modo; *now . . . now*, marking the swift ad-

vance from one state to the other. The metre of the passage is trochaic tetrameter catalectic. The source of the verses is unknown. **pueros**: dissyllabic.

27. Omnia ista, etc.: *i.e.* every individual allotment of life is called long or short according to the proportional relation in which it stands (to the normal duration of life of the species to which the individual belongs). Thus, the little creatures mentioned below may enjoy a 'long' life within the extent of a single day, because that is the limit of the normal span of life for them; but for man those same hours would mark a life exceedingly short. **cuique**: neuter, thus including all the animate creation.

Page 42. **2. solstitiali die**: *the summer solstice.* **Confer**: *cf. Tolle*, p. 14. 26, note.

4. qua: *i.e. in qua; cf.* p. 41. 5, note.

6. levius: *more charitable.* **vim**: *essence.*

8. in omni virtute: *in virtue generally*, the expression being about equivalent to *omnino in virtute; cf.* the use of *sola*, p. 29. 4.

9. ponamus: *find.* **cogitationibus mollissimis**: *enervating thoughts* (*i.e.* thoughts in which gain and ease loom up as objects of desire), the thoughts being designated as *mollissimis*, not because they are themselves such, but because of the effect which they produce upon the person who entertains them; *cf. languidis . . . voluptatibus*, p. 91. 5.

11. Chaldaeorum: *i.e.* fortune tellers; *cf.* the use of the word 'Gypsies' with us.

13. videamur: *we think we are.*

14. pendemus animis: *our minds are in suspense.* The ablative is one of specification.

15. pro: exclamation, with the vocative. **quam**: *cf. quam*, p. 14. 10, note. For *Quam* two lines below, see p. 61. 6, note.

17. Theramenes: himself one of the Thirty Tyrants established at Athens in 404 B.C. by the Lacedaemonians. Because he was somewhat conservative he was accused of treason by Critias, one of his colleagues. It was on this charge that he lost his life.

21. obduxisset: *had quaffed.* **sic . . . ut . . . resonaret**: as if playing the game of cottabus. In this game the players threw a few drops of wine at a mark, chance of success in love being sometimes tested in this way, the player calling out the name of his beloved as he threw *the wine.* To hit the mark and produce a certain ringing

sound was a favorable omen. Thus Theramenes threw out the remaining drops of poison in such a way as to make a ringing sound, announcing that the fair (!) Critias was his favorite (Κριτίᾳ τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ, Xenophon, *Hell.* ii. 3. 56).

28. Propino . . . hoc: *I drink this to the health (of)*. This version of Theramenes' words (*cf.* the Greek in the note on line 21) and the explanation which is appended (line 24 ff.) seem to show that Cicero does not here distinguish clearly between the cottabus and a quite different custom, analogous to the passing of a 'loving cup,' whereby each participant named the person who was to drink next. This last-named custom was not in vogue among the Lacedaemonians.

25. traditurī sint: note the mood.

26. praecordiīs conceptam: *implanted in his vitals.*

27. praebiberat: *cf. Propino*, line 23.

Page 43. 1. Quae est igitur, etc.: the use of a question thus to pave the way for a quotation or example hardly fits with English usage; *cf.* p. 45. 3 and 9. A free translation is, therefore, permissible, as in the case of the shorter and more common *quid (vero)*, etc., for which see *Quid*, p. 8. 3, note.

2. facit: *represents as*, namely in the *Apology* 40 C ff. (Introd. § 6).

4. quod: *cf. quod*, p. 2. 25, note.

5. ut: *namely that; cf.* the use of *ut*, p. 20. 19, note.

7. migretur: impersonal passive.

13. me: for the case-use, see p. 3. 4, note. **Sin**: somewhat irregularly balancing *sive* (line 7). An example of anacoluthon.

15. iam: *even.* **Tene . . . venire**: *to think of coming, when you*, etc.; see B. 334, A. 462, G. 534, H. 616. 3. The pronoun is of course indefinite. **qui . . . volunt**: this touch is for the benefit of those of his juror-judges who had voted against him.

18. Aeacum, Triptolemum: the former a mythical king of Aegina, famed for his justice and piety, the latter an Attic hero and benefactor of mankind in the field of agricultural invention. These two persons are much less frequently referred to as judges in the lower world than are the two Cretans mentioned in line 17.

20. Ut . . . liceat: *the privilege of*, a substantive clause; *cf.* the use of *ut*, p. 20. 19. **Musaeo**: a mythical musician, naturally paired with Orpheus.

21. quanti: *cf. pluris*, p. 40. 2, note. **Equidem**: see p. 11. 30, note.

22. ut: *provided that.*

23. adficerer: the contrary to fact construction is continued from the preceding sentence.

24. Palamedem: hated by Ulysses, who manufactured incriminating evidence to prove him a traitor. As a result of this Palamedes was stoned to death. **Aiacem**: driven insane by the fact that Achilles' armor was awarded to Ulysses and not to himself.

25. circumventos: *brought to grief.* **summi regis**: *i.e.* Agamemnon.

26. Ulixi: Greek proper names, otherwise of the third declension in Latin, sometimes have a genitive form according to the second also.

27. Sisyphi: the crafty king of Corinth; *cf.* p. 5. 17, note.

28. sicut hic faciebam: Socrates' condemnation was largely due to his practice of exposing the ignorance of those who professed to be wiser than their fellows; no one really believed the trumped-up charges of impiety and corruption of the youth. **Ne . . . timueritis**: a form of prohibition little used by Cicero.

29. me absolvistis: *voted for my acquittal.*

31. nec vivo nec mortuo: see p. 26. 20, note.

Page 44. **2. quod suscenseam**: *cf. quod*, p. 41. 7, note. **nisi quod**: *cf. quod*, p. 2. 25, note.

3. hoc modo: *sc. dixit.*

5. ut moriar: the execution, however, did not take place until about a month later, owing to a certain festival which began about the time of the trial; see Plato, *Phaedo* 58 A ff.

7. Ne: *cf.* the use of *ne*, p. 32. 20, note. Here the word might be represented in translation by 'I assure you.'

9. hoc: *him*, *i.e.* Socrates. **Etsi**: in the corrective sense; *cf. quamquam*, p. 2. 15, note.

10. id: antecedent of *quod* (line 9).

11. suum illud . . . ut: *his well-known policy of.* For *illud*, *cf. ille*, p. 37. 4, note; and for *ut*, p. 20. 19, note. Socrates' εἰρωνεία (*i.e.* the attitude of pretended ignorance which he maintained in a discussion) was a device which enabled him to apply handily his favorite method of teaching; which was to ask leading questions, thus making it appear that he was eliciting information instead of imparting it.

12. teneamus: *sc. id*, with which the following *ut*-clause would stand in apposition.

14. mors: *i.e. the state* of death; *cf.* mors, p. 40. 22.

sempiternum malum: *i.e.* the human race is doomed to unending woe. The point of this and the following sentence seems to be that the assumption that death is an evil makes the whole gamut of human experience (*i.e.* life *and* death) an evil, a conclusion beset with even graver difficulties than the assumption that one incident common to all human experience (*e.g.* death) is an evil.

16. finis: *sc. miseriarum.*

18. gloria: *reputation.*

21. ephoris: the 'overseers' of Sparta, a board of five whose functions were in part analogous to those of the *censores* and *tribuni pl.* at Rome.

23. Lycurgi: the famous lawgiver of the Spartans, perhaps of the ninth century B.C. **illi maximam gratiam habeo**: *feel very grateful to him.* Contrast this phrase with *gratias agere.*

25. mutuatione . . . versura: *borrowing . . . transfer of debt.* The latter process consisted in contracting a second loan to repay a former loan.

26. ut: introducing a loosely attached result clause. **qui . . . fuerit**: a characteristic clause with causal shading.

29. scribat Cato: in the *Origines;* see *de Senectute* 20. 75, and p. 2. 16, note.

31. Thermopylis: the defile where the Spartans and Thespians died, after the Persian hosts had been held in check for some days, and the other Greeks had withdrawn.

32. in quos: *cf. in* and the accusative, p. 36. 24. **Simonides**: *sc. hoc epigramma scripsit.* For Simonides, see p. 26. 12, note.

Page 45. **1. Spartae**: locative. This and the following verse form an elegiac distich.

2. Dum . . . obsequimur: *in obedience to.* Here, as often, *dum* with the present indicative is a mere periphrasis for the present participle.

3. Quid ille dux, etc.: *cf. qualis tandem Lacaena?* line 9, and p. 43. 1, note.

5. vigebant: see B. 293. II, A. 556. *a*, G. 569, H. 603. **E quibus**: *i.e.* of those referred to at p. 44. 31 ff.

6. Perses: here used as an adjective.

7. prae: of a hindering cause. A common use of the word.

8. In umbra, etc.: according to Herodotus vii. 226, this remark *was called forth*, not by a Persian boast, but by an alarming account *of Persian* prowess given by a fellow-Greek.

9. Lacaena: not the name of an individual.

11. ut esset, qui: *cf. nec invenietur . . . unde*, p. 29. 4, note.

12. Esto: *well and good*, introducing a fancied objection.

13. Spartiatae: *sc. sunt.* **rei publicae**, modifier of *disciplina* (line 14).

14. Quid? *cf. Quid*, p. 8. 3, note. **Cyrenaeum**: *of Cyrene.*

15. non ignobilem: *cf. nobilissimo*, p. 2. 25, note.

16. Lysimachus: one of Alexander's generals. He was apportioned Thrace on the division of the provinces after Alexander's death.

17. ista horribilia: cognate accusative. **purpuratis**: *courtiers.*

18. humine an sublime: *i.e.* buried or crucified. For *humi*, meaning '*in* the ground,' *cf.* Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* 55. 3: (*locus*) *circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus.* On *sublime*, see p. 18. 23, note fin.

20. sepultura: *i.e. funeral ceremonies.* **dicendum existimem**: hardly more than *dicam.* Redundant phrases of this sort are not uncommon in colloquial Latin. **rem**: in apposition with the preceding clause; see A. 397. *f*, G. 324, and *cf.* the similar use of the nominative, p. 28. 18. In Cicero the accusative construction is rarely found, but in later Latin it is freely used.

21. cognitis: *proved; cf. cognovimus*, p. 49. 12, and *cognitum est*, p. 103. 4.

23. in quo moritur: *in which his death is described;* namely, in the *Phaedo* (Introd. § 6).

26. Critone: an intimate friend, who, in the dialogue which bears his name, is represented as visiting Socrates when the latter was under sentence of death, offering to help him to escape from prison; *cf.* p. 31. 20 ff., and Introd. § 6.

30. sicubi: *if . . . anywhere.* **nanctus eris**: *light upon.*

31. mihi crede: here literally; not as at p. 33. 1. Socrates' thought, and the thought of this passage generally, is akin to that of the poet in *A Psalm of Life:*

> Dust thou art, to dust returnest,
> Was not spoken of the soul.

Page 46. 1. id quidem: *sc. dixit.* **qui . . . ostenderit**: *cf. qui . . . fuerit*, p. 44. 26, note.

2. genere: *sc. rerum.*

3. Durior: *less feelingly; cf.* the use of totum, p. 11. 8, note. **idem sentiens**: *cf. prava sentiunt*, p. 14. 19, note.

dicus: *cf. ut Siculi*, p. 8. 14, note. The Cynic School carried the idea of simplicity of living to a ridiculous disregarding even the decencies of life. Diogenes was a ary of Alexander; *cf.* p. 119. 14 ff. **asperius**: *with less refinement* (*of expression*).

6. propter: *near*. The word is derived from the same stem as *prope*, but it is only infrequently that it shows the local sense. **Qui**: as at p. 33. 23.

7. Quid: *cf. Quid*, p. 1. 17.

9. Anaxagoras: a Greek philosopher, born about 500 B.C.; *cf.* p. 127. 8, note.

10. Clazomenas in patriam: see B. 182. 2. *b*, A. 428. *j*, G. 337. R. 6, H. 418. 1.

12. tantundem viae est: *it is just as far*. The genitive is partitive.

17. Sed plena, etc.: *i.e.* error everywhere abounds.

19. credo: *I fancy*, spoken contemptuously; *cf. opinor*, p. 40. 29.

20. at: in its weakest sense, *moreover*. **illa**: *i.e.* Andromache, the wife of Hector. In such connections as this Cicero does not always feel it necessary to designate the speaker definitely; *cf. ille*, p. 15. 3.

21. Vidi, etc.: iambic trimeter. The lines are from the *Andromacha Aechmalotis* of Ennius; *cf.* p. 37. 11 ff. **me passa**: *sc. sum*.

22. Hectorem: with long penult (as is sometimes the case with such words in early Latin, no heed being given to the fact that in Greek the declension proceeds *-ωρ, -ορος, κ.τ.λ.*). **raptarier**: *cf. convestirier*, p. 30. 18, note.

23. aut: *cf. aut*, p. 8. 28, note.

24. Accius: see p. 30. 8, note. **aliquando**: *at length*.

25. Immo, etc.: trochaic tetrameter catalectic. It is not known from which of the plays of Accius this verse is quoted. **enimvero**: the *m* of *enim* here exerts no influence in the matter of length of syllable; *cf.* the treatment of final *s*, p. 5. 17. **Hectora**: the Greek form of the accusative.

27. alius exoritur e terra: namely, the ghost of Deiphilus, son of Iliona, Priam's daughter. It was a popular belief, especially among the Greeks, that proper burial of the body was essential to the welfare of the departed spirit, a notion which still survives in the modern 'ghost story.' *Cf.* the very up-to-date tale recorded by Pliny, *Ep. vii. 27.*

29. **Mater**, etc.: iambic tetrameter acatalectic. The lines are from the *Iliona* of Pacuvius (about 220–130 B.C.). Horace (*Serm.* ii. 3. 60 ff.) refers to a presentation of this same scene in which the actor impersonating Iliona was intoxicated and actually fell asleep. When he failed to respond to the plea of the ghost, the audience grasped the situation and with much delight took up the cry *Mater, te appello.* **suspensam**: *anxious.*

30. **Neque te**, etc.: an abrupt breaking away from the relative construction.

Page 47. 1. **pressis et flebilibus modis . . . concinuntur**: *are recited to the accompaniment of slow minor strains.* **theatris**: *i.e.* the audiences in the theatres.

6. **ne combustis**: *sc. membris minus bene utatur.*

7. **extimescit**: for the force of the prefix *cf. elaborarent*, p. 1. 13, note.

8. **semiesas**: here trisyllabic. **sireis**: *i.e. siveris* (from *sino*).

9. **Per**: *over.*

10. **septenarios**: as a matter of fact the verses quoted are octonarii; see p. 46. 29, note. It may be that the reading here arose through a mistake in copying the numeral (supposing the original to have read *viiinarios*).

11. **ad tibiam**: *cf. ad tibicinem*, p. 2. 16.

12. **cum**: temporal. The clause is dependent on *Tenendum est* (line 11).

13. **poeniuntur**: here used as a deponent.

14. **apud Ennium**: the regular form of expression for citing an author as a whole.

15. **Atreus**: the brother of Thyestes. A climax in their efforts to injure one another was reached when Atreus killed the two sons of Thyestes and served up their bodies as a feast for the father.

17. **Ipse**, etc.: trochaic tetrameter acatalectic. These and the following verses (lines 23–24) are from the *Thyestes* of Ennius (*cf.* line 14).

18. **Latere**: *by his side.*

23. **Neque**, etc.: trochaic tetrameter catalectic. **quo**: *cf. quo* (*pervenerimus*), p. 20. 24, note. **recipiat**: *i.e. se recipiat*, a sense of the word not uncommon in early Latin.

24. **remissa humana vita**: *with (the strain of) earthly life relaxed.*

25. **esse**: *sc. sepulcrum.*

28. magna culpa: probably nominative; *cf.* *non iusta causa*, p. 26. 15, note.

28. quotiens esset, etc.: *i.e. the relative importance of things.* For the turn of phrase, *cf.* *quod ipsum quale esset*, p. 10. 20, note.

Page 48. 2. Conditum: *embalm; lit., season*; not to be confused with *condunt* (line 3).

3. ut . . . permaneant: Cicero's information may not have been accurate or complete at this point. Zoroaster taught that earth, water, and fire should not be polluted by contact with a dead body, a doctrine which probably had something to do with the customs here referred to.

4. Magorum: *the Medes.*

6. Hyrcania: a district southeast of the Caspian Sea. **publicos alit canes**: *keeps dogs for general use.*

7. Nobile: *famed* (and therefore *costly*); *cf.* *nobilissimo*, p. 2. 25, note. **pro sua . . . facultate**: *according to his means.*

8. eam: *cf.* *hic . . . hoc*, p. 24. 4, note. A.+G.§296, a.

10. Chrysippus: a philosopher of the Stoic School; *cf.* Introd. § 11. **historia**: *investigation.*

12. hic locus: *this subject* (*i.e.* of burial); *cf.* *locum*, p. 25. 21. **in nobis**: *i.e.* in so far as it touches us personally; *cf.* the use of *in*, p. 38. 32.

13. ita tamen, ut . . . vivi sentiamus: *but with full understanding on the part of the living* (*that*); *cf.* *ita*, p. 40. 25, note. In this restrictive use *ita* often defies literal translation.

14. Quantum . . . dandum sit: *how much regard should be had for conventionalities and for what people think* (*famae*).

15. ita: *cf.* *ita* in line 13.

19. perfecto functus est munere: *has perfectly exemplified.*

20. Multa, etc.: *in my own case many a juncture was opportune for death.*

21. Nihil . . . iam acquirebatur: *i.e.* there was nothing further to be gained. For the use of the imperfect, *cf.* *faciebas*, *in Cat.* i. 5. 13, and *inferebat*, *p. Sulla* 19. 53.

22. cum fortuna bella: *struggles against fortune; cf.* *tempus . . . post mortem*, p. 8. 31, note.

23. ipsa ratio: *abstract reasoning.*

24. vita acta: *the completion of life's duties.* The expression is *of the same* type as *Caesar* occisus ('the murder of Caesar') and the

like; *cf. haec . . . cognita*, p. 26. 2–3. **perficiat, ut**: somewhat literally, *should have this result, that.* The use of the subjunctive here seen is closely allied to the jussive (hortatory) use.

25. videamur: *cf.* p. 42. 13, note. **Quamquam abierit**: one of the rare cases in which Cicero uses *quamquam* in a clause whose sense calls for the subjunctive; *cf. de Fin.* iii. 21. 70. After Cicero's time *quamquam* and *quamvis* are interchanged with increasing freedom.

26. suis et propriis: *cf. Propria . . . et sua*, p. 31. 3–4.

29. Verum: *just.* To be construed with *iudicium* (line 30).

31. illi: *sc. boni* (*cf.* line 30).

32. autem: *moreover.* **quoquo modo**, etc.: *i.e.* however inconsistent the remark may appear. Cicero realizes that some adherent of the doctrine of annihilation may find it hard to reconcile the sentiments expressed at this point with what has already been said of the condition of a soul annihilated. It is as a matter of fact true that this whole topic, namely, the comfort and inspiration which flows from the thought of posthumous fame and influence, is one that links itself most readily with the argument for immortality (*cf.* p. 14. 31 ff., *de Senectute* 23. 82, *p. Arch.* 11. 29, *p. Mil.* 35. 97, *p. Marcello* 9. 27 ff.); but by the use of more carefully chosen words the speaker might have adjusted the thought to the present context well enough to escape a charge of inconsistency. **Lycurgum**: *cf.* p. 44. 23, note.

Page 49. **1. Solonem**: the famous lawgiver of Athens, born about 638 B.C. **Themistoclem, Epaminondam**: of Athens and Thebes respectively; *cf.* p. 2. 31, note. Famous victories in which they figured are mentioned in the following sentence.

2. Ante: *sooner.*

3. tropaei: here put for the victory itself. The battle of Salamis was fought in 480 B.C.

4. Boeotia Leuctra: the adjective prefixed distinguishes this town from another of the same name in Laconia. In the battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.) Epaminondas broke the supremacy of the Spartans.

5. Multo autem tardius, etc.: Cicero's patriotism influences his judgment somewhat at this point.

6. Curium: *i.e.* Manius Curius Dentatus, who defeated Pyrrhus at Beneventum in 275 B.C. **Fabricium**: though a prominent general *in this same war, Gaius* Fabricius was still more distinguished as a

statesman and diplomat. **Calatinum**: *cf.* p. 7. 16, note. **duo Scipiones**: see p. 39. 18, note.

7. Maximum: *i.e.* Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator. **Marcellum**: see p. 39. 20, note. **Paulum**: see p. 39. 19, note. **Catonem**: prominent as a statesman, warrior, and writer (*cf.* p. 2. 16–18 and notes). Cicero's admiration for him shines forth very clearly in *de Senectute*. **Laelium**: *cf.* p. 3. 9, note fin.

9. arripuerit: *has acquired; cf. de Senectute* 18. 62: *Non cani nec rugae repente auctoritatem arripere possunt.* **fama populari**: *cf.* p. 48. 29 ff. **vera**: *reliable.*

10. si ita res feret: *if circumstances call for it; cf. fert*, p. 21. 26, note.

12. cognovimus: *we have found; cf. cognitis*, p. 45. 21. **etiam**: to be construed with *volet*.

13. cumulus: *the (further) heaping up.*

14. molesta: predicate adjective, as *iucundus* (line 13).

15. Laconis: not the name of an individual. The Spartans were noted for brief and pithy remarks (*e.g.* p. 100. 3 ff.); *cf.* 'laconic.'

16. Olympionices nobilis: *a famous victor at the Olympic games.* The praises of Diagoras are sung in Pindar's seventh *Olympian Ode*. For *nobilis*, *cf. nobilissimo*, p. 2. 25, note. **duo suos filios**: according to another version of the story he saw three sons crowned on the same day, a distinction so great that he died of joy.

17. Olympiae: locative.

18. non enim, etc.: the speaker meant to say that the very height of earthly ambition had been reached by Diagoras — nothing short of deification would mark an advance over his present good fortune.

19. Magna haec, etc.: Cicero seems somewhat at a loss to understand the high estimation in which an Olympic victory was held by the Greeks; *cf.* p. 71. 23 ff. The celebration of the Olympic games was not discontinued until 394 A.D.

20. vel . . . potius: *or rather*, a corrective phrase.

23. inutile . . . ipsi: *i.e.* inexpedient from the point of view of the man's own interest.

24. tibi quidem: the antithesis in the speaker's mind is made clear by *mihimet*, p. 50. 1.

25. responderam: namely, in the opening discussion preceding the lecture proper; *cf.* Synopsis, Bk. I.

26. contendi: *i.e. operam dedi.*

27. haec: *i.e.* the belief that the dead are in no distress. For the *agreement* of the word, *cf. hic . . . hoc*, p. 24. 4, note.

28. nostra causa: *on our own account, i.e.* because of the bereavement we have suffered. The phrase *et nostra causa susceptum* is practically a commentary on *Nostrum*. In such cases the copulative conjunction may be rendered freely by 'that is,' or the like.

32. quibus: *i.e. in quibus; cf. Quod . . . tempus*, p. 41. 5, note. **opinantur**: note that this verb is deponent.

Page 50. **1. mihimet**, etc.: Tullia's death had brought this matter home to him most forcefully.

3. longior: *too lengthy; cf. serius*, p. 2. 11, note. **Prior . . . pars**: *i.e.* the part of the lecture which sets forth the argument for the immortality of the soul; see Synopsis, Bk. I.

8. rhetorum epilogum: *i.e.* such an epilogue as the rhetoricians append to their disputations (*scholis*, line 14).

9. aſ hanc iam artem, etc.: *or am I through for good and all with that branch?* For the circumstances which had driven Cicero from public life see Introd. § 2. His activity in the field of oratory at this time was confined to the instruction of others; *cf.* Introd. § 19, and p. 57. 24 ff. For the use of *plane*, *cf.* pp. 7. 23 and 31. 9.

10. ne reliqueris: *cf. Ne . . . timueritis*, p. 43. 28, note. **ornasti . . . ornaverat**: Cicero ever exalted oratory, the art through which he had won political preferment.

14. solent: *sc. rhetores.*

16. pluribus: *i.e. compluribus; cf. pluris*, p. 19. 4, note.

18. sollemne: *regular.* The word originally meant 'annual.'

19. ius esset: *the ceremonial law required.*

21. posita: *i.e. deposita.*

24. maxumum: the attraction of a superlative into the relative clause is common in Latin; but some other turn should be used in translating. **post epulatos**, etc.: note that *dicitur* above (line 23) is a personal passive. The shift to the accusative is regular when, as here, the subject of the indirect discourse changes and the governing verb is not repeated; *cf. de Senectute* 18. 63 fin.

26. Trophonius et Agamedes: legendary heroes of architecture to whom was attributed the erection of many important buildings of antiquity.

28. templum: *cf.* pp. 9. 17 and 23. 17, with the notes there.

29. quidem: *to be sure.*

31. post eius diei diem tertium: *cf. post diem tertium eius diei, ad Att. iii. 7. 1.* This style of expression is analogous to the

familiar *postridie* (*pridie*) *eius diei*; it becomes more common in later writers.

32. Iudicavisse deum: *i.e.* that he has (thereby) rendered a decision (on the question whether or not death is an evil); *cf.* *iudicare*, p. 15. 1.

Page 51. 1. dicunt: *sc. rhetores.* **et eum quidem deum**: *and that god too in fact*; *cf.* *iisque*, p. 14. 14.

3. Sileno: a satyr who is said to have brought up and educated Bacchus, being the attendant and guardian of that ever youthful god. He was credited with prophetic insight, and might be compelled by mortals to prophesy if they found him intoxicated and bound him with chains of flowers; *cf.* Ovid, *Met.* xi. 90 ff., and Vergil, *Ecl.* vi. 13 ff.

4. hoc . . . muneris: expanded by *docuisse regem*, etc. (line 5). The genitive is partitive.

5. non: with *nasci*.

7. Cresphonte: the nominative case is *Cresphontes*. Of the play so named only fragments remain.

8. Nam, etc.: iambic trimeter. **coetus celebrantis**: *in great throngs*. For the syntax of *coetus*, see B. 176. 4. *a*, A. 390. *b*, G. 333. 2. NN. 2 and 3, H. 409. 2.

12. omni . . . laude et laetitia: *with every joyful felicitation*. **exsequi**: *i.e.* in the funeral train; *cf.* the phrase *exsequias ire*, 'attend a funeral.' The infinitive *exsequi* depends on *decebat* (line 8).

13. Consolatione Crantoris: the title of this work (*περὶ Πένθους*) Cicero renders literally by *de Luctu* in *Acad.* ii. 44. 135. The book was written by Crantor to console a friend who had lost his son, and upon it Cicero drew heavily in writing his own *Consolatio* (*cf.* Introd. § 17). For Crantor, who lived about 300 B.C., *cf.* Introd. § 14.

14. Terinaeum: *of Terina*, a town in Bruttium.

15. psychomantium: a place of necromancy where the spirits of the dead were questioned; *cf.* p. 17. 6 ff.

17. versiculos: *lines*; *cf.* *senariolos*, p. 109. 9.

19. Euthynous: the name of the son. **potitur**: here as of the third conjugation (short penult).

20. finiri: *i.e.* *mori*. **tibi**: the father. The original runs *οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ζώειν καλὸν αὐτῷ οὔτε γονεῦσιν*. The thought of the line is that the fate of the son is to be preferred to that of those who survive him.

21. confirmant: *they* (*sc. rhetores*) *assure us*. **causam rebus . . . iudicatam**: *i.e.* that the gods have settled the question by the

tangible proof of such actual happenings (*rebus*) as are mentioned above. In this passage *rebus* has something of the emphasis which more commonly appears in clearly marked antithetical expressions; *cf. dictis . . . factis*, p. 71. 7.

23. Alcidamas: a native of Asia Minor. He was a pupil of the Sicilian rhetorician Gorgias (*cf.* p. 98. 1, note).

25. rationes: *arguments.*

26. exquisitius: *with somewhat critical care; cf.* the use of *serius*, p. 2. 11, note.

29. Repetunt ab: *they begin with.* **Erechtheo**: the story runs that, when Athens was hard pressed by the Eleusinians, an oracle promised victory to king Erechtheus if he would sacrifice one of his daughters; and that two sisters of the victim of their own accord shared her fate by committing suicide. According to the myth the father too lost his life later as a result of the war.

31. Codrum: the last king of Athens. When some of the Dorian states united against that city, an oracle promised them victory if they should spare the Athenian king. To frustrate their intention Codrus hit upon the plan here described, and carried it out successfully. Finding that they had after all killed the king, the Dorians gave up the struggle as hopeless.

Page 52. **1. si**: (*as would be the case*) *if.* The brachylogy of the Latin expression, however, is not foreign to English idiom.

3. Menoeceus: who sacrificed his life to give victory to the Thebans against the Seven.

5. Iphigenia: daughter of Agamemnon, sacrificed at Aulis when the Greeks set sail for Troy.

6. eliciatur: *sc. sanguis.*

7. in ore est: *is frequently mentioned* (*i.e.* by the rhetoricians). Harmodius and Aristogiton were Athenian youths who lost their lives in trying to overthrow the tyrannical Pisistratidae (514 B.C.). Their action made them national heroes with the Athenians.

8. Leonidas: the hero of Thermopylae; *cf.* p. 44. 31, note. Cicero is here citing typical cases from different districts, and he makes this fact clear by prefixing *Lacedaemonius* here, and *Thebanus* in the case of Epaminondas (line 9). The last-named general lost his life at Mantinea in 362 B.C., fighting against the Spartans.

9. viget: *ranks high.* **Nostros**: *e.g.* the *Decii* (see V. Æ. 16 ff.).

10. magnum est: the indicative as in *longum est* and similar phrases (B. 271. 1. *b*, A. 437. *a*, G. 254. R. 1, H. 525. 2); *cf. possum*, p. 31. 2. **ita**: with *multi*; *cf. ita*, p. 24. 32, note. **optabilis**: *well worth while*.

11. mortes . . . cum gloria: *i.e.* death assuring subsequent fame; *cf. gloriosae*, p. 51. 28, and *tempus . . . post mortem*, p. 8. 31, note.

12. cum: concessive. **eloquentia**: for the case see A. 500. 3, G. 427. N. 4, H. 621. 2.

13. ita: *i.e.* employing this strong eloquence (*cf.* line 12). **velut superiore e loco contionandum**: *i.e.* like a tribune haranguing the people from the rostra, appealing to their feelings as well as to their judgment.

14. ut . . . desistant: purpose clause.

15. Nam si, etc.: apparently a reminiscence of p. 43. 4 ff.

16. commutationem . . . loci: *i.e.* from the earth to the sky.

19. fiat: *cf. sit*, p. 18. 24. **Ennii**: *cf.* p. 2. 13, note.

20. Solonis: *cf.* p. 49. 1, note.

21. Nemo me, etc.: *cf.* p. 16. 3, note.

22. Faxit: a sigmatic form common in early Latin; *cf.* A. 183. 3, G. 131. 4. *b*. 2, H. 244. 4. In force it differs little from *faciat*.

23. sapiens: so designated as being one of the Seven Sages of Greece (*cf.* p. 86. 25, note). The epithet seems here applied somewhat sarcastically; for the judgment of Ennius is ranked above that of the sage.

24. Mors, etc.: an elegiac distich.

25. celebrent: *in throngs attend; cf. coetus celebrantis*, p. 51. 8.

26. a deo denuntiatum: *cf.* p. 32. 19 ff. and notes.

29. in aeternam . . . domum: *to a home eternal and beyond question our own*.

Page 53. **5. quaedam vis**: *i.e.* a divine Providence.

6. quod . . . incideret: *only to have it fall (into)*.

7. in mortis malum sempiternum: *into a state of everlasting wretchedness consequent upon death*. This argument from design is one that appeals to the modern reader, and one which might seem worthy of more extended notice than Cicero can give it at this point.

10. eodem: *to that same destination; cf. eodem*, p. 6. 29, and the note there. **tardius**: *later*.

11. Quod autem, etc.: for the thought, cf. p. 44. 12 ff.

14. Ego vero: *sc. habeo;* we may render 'yes indeed.'

16. 'Optime,' inquam: '*good,*' *said I,* the present (*inquam*) as usual replacing the rare perfect form; *cf. Acad.* ii. 48. 148, *de Div.* i. 5. 8, etc. In order to avoid the necessity of continually inserting *inquam* and *inquit* when there is a change of speaker, Cicero at the beginning of this disputation adopted the plan of representing the dialogue as actually taking place, not as being reported (see p. 4. 20 ff., and *cf. de Amicitia* 1. 3). But with '*Optime,*' *inquam* he reverts to the other plan, *reporting* to Brutus (p. 1. 3, note) the reply to *A.'s* final remark. **valetudini tribuamus aliquid**: *i.e.* devote some time to the needs of the body (by taking exercise, etc.).

17. Tusculano: *cf.* p. 4. 8, note fin.

18. agamus haec: *give attention to these* (*i.e.* philosophical) *topics.*

19. habeant: *lead to;* or, more literally, *involve, carry with them.* **qui**: for the concord, *cf. quae,* p. 1. 7.

BOOK II

Page 54. 1. Neoptolemus: son of Achilles. **apud Ennium**: *cf.* p. 47. 14, note.

2. paucis: *sc. verbis, i.e. briefly.* **omnino**: *generally speaking.*

3. Brute: the dedication to Brutus is repeated at the beginning of each successive book; *cf.* p. 1. 3, note.

4. quid possum, praesertim nihil agens, agere melius? with this case of oxymoron may be compared Pliny, *Ep.* i. 9. 5: *Satius est enim . . . otiosum esse quam nihil agere* (*i.e.* than to be busy over trifles).

5. Difficile est, etc.: *for a man can hardly master a few points in philosophy without knowing,* etc.

10. pauca ipsa: *even this little.*

12. percipi: *be reaped,* continuing the figure begun in line 11 (*ferunt fructus*).

13. interdum: not to be confused with *interim.*

14. velut: *as, for example.*

17. quod: *the* relative.

magnum . . . praesidium ad beatam vitam com- . . . *strong provision (looking) to the happy life; cf.*

quam: *cf. quamquam*, p. 2. 15, note.

a: *i.e. id quod.* **potuimus**: for mood and tense, see *a*, A. 517. *c*, G. 597. R. 3. *a*, H. 583.

5. Etenim si, etc.: the point of this long and involved sentence is that in oratory Cicero has found detractors; what then can he expect in philosophy, especially as even the masses (who had appreciated his speeches) will here si

6. populares . . . fa *gift (i.e.* eloquence) *is one that appeals to the masse..*

effectus: *success.*

sed si, etc.: the fre by the sentence at this point leaves *orationes* (line 5) wi tion.

9. quemque: *i.e. quem* + *inem.* The meaning at this point is that, for the persons in ques he ideal of good speaking was no higher than the grade of excellence to which they themselves aspired.

11. obruerentur: *were overwhelmed* (as by a tide); *cf. obruet*, p. 49. 3.

12. ieiunitatem et famem: *terseness and bluntness.* Cicero frequently improves an opportunity to rail at these orators who did not appreciate his own florid style; *e.g. Orator* 7. 23 and 23. 75 ff.

13. unde: (*a choice*) *from which.* For the use of the adverb, *cf. quo* (*pervenerimus*), p. 20. 24, note. **genus Atticorum**, etc.: *the school of Attic orators, misunderstood by the very ones who*, etc. According to Cicero, these rivals of his made the mistake of supposing that the simplicity and lack of adornment noticeable in the speeches of the great orators of Athens was the essential quality of their oratory, and consequently that any commonplace production, if only it were unadorned, might properly be designated 'Attic.'

15. qui iam: (*individuals*) *who now.* **ab ipso foro**: a bold personification.

19. ipsa: *on her part; cf. ipsi* following, and also at p. 106. 1. **ei**: *i.e. multitudini.*

20. universam: *sc. philosophiam.*

21. quam nos maxime sequimur: *cf.* Introd. §§ 15–16.

23. disciplinis: *schools.*

24. Hortensio, etc.: on Cicero's philosophical series see Introd. *§ 17.*

26. Academicis: this work appeared in two editions, the earlier comprising two books, the later four. The second book of the first version and a part of the first book of the second are extant.

27. tantum abest ut . . . ut: see grammatical references, p. 33. 15, note.

32. huius quoque generis laudem: *distinction in this field also.*

Page 56. **4. ita . . . venit ad summum**: *has so fully reached its prime.* Strictly, however, the use of *ita* here is the same as that seen at p. 48. 13 and 15. **ducta ab humili**: *arising from a small (beginning); cf. ductam*, p. 31. 19.

5. fert: *necessitates; cf. fert*, p. 21. 26, note.

7. quidem: *I mean.*

8. ex his temporibus: *as a result of present conditions;* said with reference to the despotism of Caesar, which, by discouraging free speech, was driving patriots out of public life; *cf.* Introd. § 2. Under later emperors philosophy too was discouraged and even placed under the ban; *cf.* Tacitus, *Agr.* 2, and Pliny, *Ep.* iii. 5. 5.

11. addicti et consecrati: *bound and devoted.* The apologetic *quasi* which precedes (*cf. quasi*, p. 10. 22, note) shows that the metaphorical application here given these words was not very familiar. **ea**: *cf. eam*, p. 18. 12, note.

13. constantiae: *consistency.*

14. veri simile: (*as*) *probable; cf.* Introd. §§ 15–16. **occurrit**: *sc. nobis.*

17. ne . . . quidem: *cf. ne . . . quidem*, p. 6. 8, note.

20. ex quo: *as a result of which.*

23. elegantia: *cf. eleganter*, p. 24. 25, note.

24. ratione et via: hendiadys, *in a rational way.*

25. quoddam genus, etc.: *i.e.* the followers of Epicurus; *cf.* p. 3. 19, and the note there.

26. Latini: *i.e.* written in Latin. **sane**: with *multi* (line 27).

27. equidem: see p. 11, 30, note. **quippe quos**, *cf. quippe quae*, p. 11. 8, note.

29. distincte: *with precision.*

30. eleganter: *cf. elegantia*, line 23. **lectionem sine ulla delectatione**: *cf. tempus . . . post mortem*, p. 8. 31, note.

32. qui sunt ab ea disciplina: *who are of that school; cf. disciplinis*, p. 55. 23. **ne . . . quidem**: see grammatical references, p. 28. 32, *note.*

Page 57. **3. idem sentiunt**: *cf. prava sentiunt*, p. 14. 19, note. **Nam**, etc.: a commentary on the parenthesis included in the preceding sentence, in which Cicero has admitted that community of interest may justify the Roman Epicureans in reading one another's works. The faulty style of the Roman followers of Epicurus was doubtless due in part to their model; for the system of Epicurus gave too little prominence to the department of logic (*cf.* Introd. § 5 init.), and he was himself for the most part a somewhat careless writer.

4. Socraticos: *pupils of Socrates.* **eos, qui ab his profecti sunt**: *cf.* Introd. § 7.

5. illa: *i.e.* the views of the philosophers just referred to; *cf.* the use of *id*, p. 3. 2, note.

7. Metrodorum: the most prominent of the pupils of Epicurus, and a faithful follower of his master; *cf.* Introd. § 13. **suos**: *their followers; cf.* the use of *sui*, p. 40. 27.

9. illa: *cf.* the use of *illa*, line 5.

10. litteris mandetur: *is committed to writing.* **commendari . . . lectioni**: *be given a claim upon the attention (of).*

11. nec, si . . . minus . . . possumus, etc.: Cicero means to say that his ability or inability to apply in his own writing the principle just stated has nothing to do with his belief in the validity of that principle. For *minus*, see *si minus*, p. 13. 7, note.

16. posset: note the mood. For the tense, *cf. contineretur*, p. 1. 7, note.

18. princeps: *i.e. primus.* This additional statement shows that at line 13 ff. the speaker was thinking of the *ἐπιδείξεις* of Aristotle (*i.e.* discourses composed in pairs setting forth the pros and cons of a given question, thus affording scope for oratorical practice). The Academic method of discussing all views touching a given question Cicero elsewhere (*e.g. de Div.* ii. 72. 150) traces to Socrates' method of procedure.

20. Philo: of the New Academy; *cf.* Introd. § 15 fin.

23. Tusculano: *cf. Tusculano*, p. 4. 8. For the setting of the *Tusculan Disputations*, see Introd. § 19.

24. in eo: *i.e.* in giving instruction in oratory and philosophy.

25. dictioni: *oratory.*

26. pridie: the five disputations are represented as taking place on the afternoons of five successive days; *cf.* again Introd. § 19. **Academiam**: a gymnasium on the Tusculan estate, named in honor of the Ἀκαδήμεια at Athens where Plato and his followers met and *from which* the Academic School derived its name (*cf.* Introd. § 14).

On higher ground in this same estate was the *Lyceum*, which represented the gymnasium (*i.e.* the Λύκειον) in which Aristotle lectured.

27. in qua: logically belonging only with *habitam*.

28. ut actum disputatumque est: *just as in the actual discussion; cf.* p. 4. 20 ff.

29. ad hunc modum: with *Est . . . institutus*.

30. tali quodam: *some such*.

Page 58. **3. interdum**: *cf.* p. 54. 13, note.

6. minus curandum: *less to be worried about*.

10. non idem potest: *has not the same efficacy*, **idem** being cognate accusative.

11. Fortis: *i.e. fortis*.

13. quasi: *cf. quasi*, p. 10. 22, note.

14. Te natura . . . quendam videlicet . . . genuit: *evidently (in) you nature produced an individual*, etc.; *cf.* the similar phrase and rendering, p. 41. 1, and note.

16. habita: *delivered;* or the word may be omitted in translation.

17. haec eadem: *i.e.* these same philosophical principles.

18. a quibus: the antecedent is *eos ipsos* (line 17).

19. Quotus enim quisque, etc.: *for how rarely is the philosopher found who*, etc. This rendering varies slightly the standard translation of **quotus quisque** (namely, 'how few').

20. moratus: derived from *mos*, whose plural (*mores*) often signifies 'character.'

23. decretis: *principles, doctrines;* in Greek, δόγματα.

24. fuerit . . . melius: representing *fuit . . . melius*, hence not the periphrastic; *cf.* B. 322. *b* and *c*, A. 517. *d*, G. 515. R. 1, H. 648. II. 2 and 3.

28. grammaticum: *a teacher of language and literature*.

29. barbare: *ungrammatically*. **absurde**: *out of tune*.

30. hoc turpior . . . quod: *all the more disgraced, because; cf. eo facilius . . . quod*, p. 19. 28 ff.

32. officio: *conduct*.

Page 59. **1. vitae**: (*right*) *living*.

2. delinquit in vita: *makes a failure of the same*.

6. perfectos: *finished*.

9. Accii: *cf.* p. 30. 8, note.

10. Probae, etc.: iambic trimeter. **segetem**: field.

11. suapte: *cf. suopte*, p. 18. 14, note.

12. ut . . . verser: *cf.* grammatical references in the note on p. 14. 3.

13. quamvis: adverbial modifier of *fertilis; cf.* p. 22. 1.

14. ita: *cf.* the use of *ita*, p. 24. 32, note. On Cicero's estimate of the value of *doctrina*, *cf.* also *p. Arch.* 7. 15.

17. ea . . . quae: *principles which.*

19. si vis: *if you please; cf.* the more colloquial *sis.*

24. Magis esset pudendum: *there would be more cause for shame.*

25. Quid enim, etc.: *for what is less seemly for you than to think that*, etc.

26. dedecore, etc.: see p. 3. 4, note. **ut**: perhaps with the same force as *ut*, p. 43. 22.

27. quis: usually noun, but here adjective. Conversely, *qui* (interrogative) is most frequently an adjective, in which case it is apt to have the shading shown by *quem*, p. 23. 5, where see the note. **non modo**: *cf. non modo*, p. 7. 14, note. **ultro**: *actually*, the word being regularly used of action which, from some point of view, might seem uncalled for or surprising.

29. Quare ne sit sane: *therefore let it be granted that . . . not.* Often *sane* is little more than a formal mark of the concessive force or shading of the subjunctive.

Page 60. **1. plus**: *i.e.* additional light on the subject.

2. Experiar equidem: *I will do my best.* For *equidem*, *cf.* p. 11. 30, note.

5. quo . . . cumque: tmesis, not uncommon in the case of this word. Quite frequently too Cicero divides words containing the prefix *per; e.g. per mihi brevis*, *p. Clu.* 1. 2, *per mihi gratum*, *ad Att.* v. 10. 4, *per videre velim*, *ibid.* xv. 4. 2, etc. More striking still is the anastrophe *ponit ante* (for *anteponit*), *de Off.* iii. 17. 71.

6. de variis disciplinis: modifying *philosophorum*, and coördinate with *multorum*. For *disciplinis*, see p. 55. 23, note.

8. Socraticus Aristippus: founder of the Cyrenaic School, which held that pleasure is the *summum bonum; cf.* Introd. § 7.

11. Hunc post: a rare anastrophe.

12. Hieronymus: see Introd. § 9. **dolore vacare**: expressing the same idea as *vacuitatem doloris*, p. 116. 24, and *indolentiam*, p. 116. 31. **tantum**: *cf.* the use of *ita*, p. 24. 32, note.

13. praeter: *excepting.* **Zenonem, Aristonem**: see Introd. §§ 10–11.

14. Pyrrhonem: of Elis; he was founder of the Sceptic School, to which the New Academy in large measure owed its cardinal doctrine (*cf.* Introd. § 15). On the topic here under discussion his view coincided with that of Aristo. **illud quidem**: *cf. illis quidem*, p. 3. 19, note fin.

16. ne scilicet, etc.: this clause expands *id* (line 15). In translation the negative does not appear, its use in the Latin sentence being due to a mechanical recognition of the idea of avoidance conveyed by *respuit.* For similar phrasing, *cf. de Off.* i. 24. 83: *sed fugiendum illud etiam, ne offeramus nos periculis sine causa.* So with verbs of fearing; *e.g. in Cat.* ii. 7. 15, and *de Nat. D.* i. 8. 18.

17. oppositoque dedecore: *sc. dolori.* The zeugma here is harsh. For this clause the full expression would be: *quodque effecit ut opposito dedecore sententia depellerere.*

18. in eo: *by virtue of that fact, i.e.* the fact that there exists in some a natural aversion to the degrading doctrine that pain is the greatest evil. With these words the sentence takes a fresh start (anacoluthon), leaving *id* (line 15) without construction.

19. permanet: the use of the present here with *tot saecula* is analogous to the use of that tense with *iam, iam pridem*, etc.: see B. 259. 4, A. 466, G. 230, H. 533. 1.

20. tanti: *cf. pluris*, p. 40. 2, note, and *quanti*, p. 43. 21. **quod**: introducing a relative clause of result. **velit**: *be willing.*

21. quis: the indefinite, *a man; cf. quis*, p. 4. 12.

23. decreverit: *cf. decretis*, p. 58. 23, note.

27. omnino nemo: *absolutely no one.* **possit**: *could be, i.e.* in the case supposed.

29. Metrodorus: *cf.* Introd. § 13.

30. exploratum: (*i.e. cui sit exploratum*), *who is assured.*

31. fore: *sc. id* (*i.e. corpus*).

32. ea: *cf. eam*, p. 18. 12, note. **risus captare**: *to be trying to raise a laugh. Cf.* the use of *captare* to describe the activity of the professional legacy hunter; *e.g.* Pliny *Ep.* ii. 20. 7: *nuper captare eum coeperat.* For the plural *risus*, *cf. cantibus*, p. 2. 30, note.

Page 61. 1. sapiens: *cf. sapientis*, p. 9. 21, note.

2. dum dicat: see B. 293. III. 2, A. 553, G. 572, H. 603. IV. 2.

3. magna . . . laus: *an attitude highly meritorious*; cf. ista laus, *de Off. iii. 31. 111.*

5. aspero et duro: *rugged and sturdy*; of course sarcastic. **in Phalaridis tauro**: Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum in the sixth century B.C., is said to have made a practice of burning his victims alive in a brazen bull.

6. dicet: *i.e.* according to Epicurus. The subject of this verb (and of *erit*) is *sapiens* (see line 1). **quam**: *how* (*absolutely*). This word must be carefully distinguished from phrases such as *quo modo*, *quem ad modum*, etc., which are also translated 'how,' but which express manner rather than degree, being thus suited to modify verbs; *cf.* p. 14. 10, note.

7. an parum est, etc.: *i.e.* is not every demand of the situation satisfied if the *sapiens* can regard bodily suffering as *non amarus*? For the use of *an*, *cf. An*, p. 5. 26, note; here the tone of voice is sufficient translation.

8. qui . . . negant: *i.e.* the Stoics (*cf.* Introd. § 10). For the meaning of the verb, *cf. negabas*, p. 6. 30, note.

11. malorum omnium extremum: *i.e.* the greatest of all *reputed* evils; for, as here stated, Epicurus recognized but one evil as real. Similarly virtue is called by the Stoics the *summum bonum*, though it was the *only* good they recognized.

13. eisdem verbis adficias: *describe in the same terms; cf. gloria adficere* ('to bring distinction to'), etc.

14. voluptarius: *with a weakness for pleasure.* **Ille dixerit sane idem**: *he may make the same remark.* For *sane*, see p. 59. 29, note fin.

15. quod: *sc. diceret.*

16. sapientiae: this word corresponds to the Greek *σοφία*. The more scientific and technical *φιλοσοφία* is sometimes rendered by *studium sapientiae* (*cf.* p. 1. 7).

17. Si fortis est: *sc.* the philosopher, as is implied by *sapientiae*, line 16. **officio satis est**: *the claims of duty are satisfied.*

21. Philoctetam: Philoctetes commanded seven of the Greek vessels that sailed against Troy. On the way thither he was bitten in the foot by a serpent at Lemnos, and the disgusting nature of his sore caused him to be deserted there by his fellow-warriors. After a long delay they were obliged to send for him, because of the prediction that Troy could not be taken without the aid of the poisoned arrows bequeathed to him by Hercules (*cf.* line 23 ff.). **gementi**: with a participle, *concedere* approaches the meaning of *ignoscere*; *cf. de Off. i. 21. 71.* There is a similar use of ἐπιτρέπω with the participle.

22. Oeta: the name of a cluster of mountains in Thessaly. At the time when Hercules mortally wounded the centaur Nessus, the latter persuaded Deianira, the wife of Hercules, to accept some of his poisoned life-blood, representing that it might be used as a charm to retain her husband's affections. Acting on this advice, Deianira subsequently placed it on a robe intended for Hercules. The poison thus applied instantly took deadly effect, and, unable to bear the torture, Hercules was carried by Apollo's direction to Oeta. There he ascended a funeral pyre, and, according to tradition, was translated to heaven just as the torch was applied.

23. sagittae, etc.: *cf.* line 21, note.

25. E viperino, etc.: iambic trimeter. This and the following passage are from the *Philocteta* of Accius (*cf.* p. 30. 8, note init.). **venae viscerum**: *i.e. blood-vessels.*

28. Heu, qui, etc.: *alas, for a man to . . . !* This and the following three lines form an anapaestic system.

29. sublimo: *cf. sublime*, p. 18. 23, note.

30. Iam iam: *even now.*

31. Vis volneris: *i.e. my torturing wound; cf. aliqua vi morbi*, p. 21. 16, note.

Page 62. 3. inmortalitatem ipsa morte: a case of oxymoron. The same oracle which had ordered Hercules to submit to the demands which Eurystheus should make upon him (*cf.* line 10, note fin.) had also promised him immortality.

4. voces: here, *laments.* **apud**: *cf.* p. 47. 14, note. The citation is located more specifically by the phrase which follows.

5. Trachiniis: a play dealing with the events leading up to Hercules' translation (*cf.* p. 61. 22, note). Trachis, a town in Thessaly near Oeta (p. 61. 22), was the home of Hercules, and the chorus of the play was made up of Trachinian women; hence the name *Trachiniae* (Τραχίνιαι).

7. visceribus: *flesh; cf. viscerum*, p. 61. 25. **ait ille**: the following passage is Cicero's own translation, beginning with line 1046 of the Greek play. The metre is iambic trimeter.

10. Iunonis terror inplacabilis: *i.e. dread Juno, pitiless; cf.* the analogous phrase *horrifer Aquilonis stridor*, p. 30. 8, note. It was through the machinations of Juno, incited by her jealousy of the mother of Hercules, that that hero was fated to fall into bondage to Eurystheus, *king of Mycenae.*

11. Eurystheus: *cf.* line 10, note. **tristis**: *grim; cf. tristiores*, p. 119. 12.

12. una: *i.e.* Deianira. **Oenei partu edita**: *daughter of Oeneus* (an Aetolian king). This form of expression for descent on the father's side is unusual.

13. furiali: *lit. of the Furies, i.e. deadly.*

14. latere: with *inhaerere* the ablative does not necessarily require the preposition *in*.

15. haurit spiritus: *exhausts my breath, i.e.* renders breathing difficult.

16. decolorem: *watery; lit. faded.*

18. peste . . . textili: *i.e. deadly garment.*

19. Hos: with *ictus* (line 21). For the force of the word, *cf.* the use of *eam*, p. 18. 12, note.

20. moles Gigantum: *cf.* p. 21. 16, note. Hercules assisted the gods when the giants tried to storm heaven. **biformato**: a transferred epithet; *cf.* p. 30. 8, note fin. It was on his expedition to capture the Erymanthian boar (*cf.* p. 63. 15) that Hercules became involved in the conflict with the Centaurs.

21. ictus: *stabs.*

23. terris: a poetical use of the dative; *cf.* Vergil, *Aen.* v. 451: *it clamor caelo.*

24. ecferitatem: *barbarism.* For the force of the prefix *cf. elaborarent*, p. 1. 13, note. Hercules' journeys, like those of Bacchus, were regarded by the ancients as great civilizing tours; *cf.* p. 15. 15, note.

25. feminea: *i.e. weak.*

26. nate: the son's name was Hyllus. **vere hoc nomen**, etc.: *i.e.* show yourself my son indeed. The lines which follow indicate in what way Hercules wishes his son to show loyalty to him. The phrase *hoc nomen usurpa* might be rendered somewhat literally 'exercise the functions implied in this name.'

27. superet: *outweigh.*

28. abstractam: Hercules does not yet know that his wife has committed suicide within the palace after learning of the suffering she had unwittingly brought upon him. **piis**: as being actuated by loyalty to the father.

29. Iam: *soon.* **potiorem putes**: *care more for.* The adjective suggests the idea of choice; *cf. potius*, p. 33. 17, and *potissimum, p. 19. 16, note.*

31. Gentes: *nations.* The word frequently has this meaning, while *nationes* is often used to designate the subdivisions of a *gens; cf. de Nat. D.* iii. 39. 93.

Page 63. **1. virginalem**: *like a girl.* **me . . . edere**: *cf. Tene . . . venire*, p. 43. 15, note.

6. caelestum: a form of the genitive common in the poets.

7. vim coruscam fulminis: *cf. horrifer Aquilonis stridor*, p. 30. 8, note.

8. dolorum anxiferi . . . vertices: *i.e. intensely distressing pains.* This phrase is quite analogous to *vim coruscam fulminis*, line 7.

10. pectora . . . terga: the fact that plurals are used in the Greek original may have influenced the choice of number in this particular passage; but such a use of the plural is not uncommon in Latin poetry generally.

13. Lernam: the name of a forest and marsh near Argos, where the Hydra was killed by Hercules. **excetra**: *serpent*, namely, the Hydra.

14. bicorporem . . . manum: *i.e.* the Centaurs.

16. plaga: *region.*

17. Tricipitem . . . canem: *i.e.* Cerberus; *cf.* p. 5. 14, note. **Hydra generatum**: according to another version Hydra and Cerberus were both children of Echidna; so the Greek original here (*δεινῆς Ἐχίδνης θρέμμα*).

19. auriferam . . . arborem: *i.e.* the tree bearing the golden apples of the Hesperides. **obtutu**: *vigil.*

20. lustravit: *has performed*, with the accessory idea of passing quickly from one thing to another.

21. e nostris . . . laudibus: *at the expense of my fame.*

22. contemnere: *ignore.*

23. tam intoleranter: *with so little self-possession.* For *tam*, see *quam*, p. 14. 10, note.

25. Pythagoreus: *i.e.* a philosopher; the school to which he belonged is not a matter of special importance for the argument at this point. For the Pythagorean School, *cf.* Introd. § 5 *a.*

26. excipit: *i.e.* as depicted in tragedy; hence the tense. **furtum Lemnium**: according to the myth, Prometheus, in his desire to elevate mankind, introduced the use of fire, stealing it from Vulcan at Lemnos (*where there was a* volcano). For this act he was punished

by being fastened to a rock, where an eagle tore his liver repeatedly, that organ growing to normal size again between the grewsome feasts.

28. Unde: *i.e.* from Lemnos, the name of the island being implied in the adjective (*Lemnium*, line 26). This passage is cited from the *Philocteta* of Accius (*cf.* p. 61. 25, note). The four verses form an anapaestic system. On final *s* in *ignis* and *mortalibus*, see p. 5. 17, note. **cluet**: *i.e. dicitur*. This same verb is to be supplied in the following clause.

31. supremo: modifier of *Iovi* (line 30).

Page 64. **1. dicit haec**: the following lines are translated by Cicero (*cf.* p. 62. 7, note) from the *Prometheus Unbound* of Aeschylus, a play no longer extant. The metre of this passage is iambic trimeter.

3. socia nostri sanguinis: Prometheus was the son of the Titan Iapetus. The Titans here addressed formed the chorus of the play.

4. religatum: *sc. me*.

5. ut: *as* (*securely as*).

6. adnectunt: *moor*.

8. Iovis numen: *cf. aliqua vi morbi*, p. 21. 16, note. **Mulciberi**: a surname of Vulcan. **ascivit**: *i.e.* called in the assistance (of).

9. fabrica . . . sollertia: *skill . . . cleverness*.

11. castrum hoc Furiarum: *this stronghold of the Furies* (*i.e.* a place where there is inflicted punishment such as the Furies mete out).

12. Iam: *cf. Iam*, p. 1. 18. **quoque**: from *quisque*.

17. adulat: *wipes away*.

18. inflatu: *growth;* or, more literally, *swelling*.

24. me ipse viduus: *i.e.* unable to help myself; *cf.* the note on *ipse*, p. 12. 26. **pestes excipio anxias**: *I suffer distressing woes*.

27. glomerata: *intensified*.

30. instillant: *drip upon, i.e. moisten*.

32. hunc miserum: *sc. dicemus*. **dolorem malum**: *sc. dicere cogemur*.

Page 65. **1. meam causam agis**: *you are pleading my case* (*i.e.* speaking in favor of my view).

2. mox videro: the future perfect of action postponed, a use of the tense common in early Latin but rare in Cicero excepting in the case of this one verb; *cf.*, however, *fuerit*, p. 88. 4.

3. adgnosco: *cf.* p. 8. 22, note.

7. cum Athenis esses: it was now customary for young Romans to go to Greece to finish their education; *cf.* Introd. § 1. At about the time of this writing Cicero sent his son Marcus abroad for that purpose. **scholis**: *lecture rooms.*

9. Vero: *yes.*

13. Dionysio Stoico: a person not otherwise known.

14. Probe dicis: *quite right.* **quasi dictata**: *as if (pronouncing mere) formulae, i.e.* without spirit. **dilectu . . . elegantia**: *taste . . . discrimination; cf. eleganter*, p. 24. 25, note.

15. Philo: *cf.* Introd. § 15. **numero**: *metre.*

16. loco: *at the proper point.* **postquam adamavi**: *now that I have fallen in love with.*

17. senilem declamationem: *cf.* p. 4. 10 ff.

22. inducunt: *bring upon (the stage); cf. inducit*, p. 11. 2, note.

23. dulces: *seductive.*

24. ediscantur: *are learned by heart; cf. elaborarent*, p. 1. 13, note. **domesticam**: *in the home.*

25. vitam . . . umbratilem: *i.e.* a sheltered life such as women lead, far removed from the rush and responsibility of public duties; *cf.* p. 69. 19. **accesserunt**: *lit. have been added; cf. Accedit*, p. 19. 28.

27. finxit: namely, in the Πολιτεία, which outlines an ideal state; *cf.* Cicero's *de Re Publica*, p. 23. 30, note.

28. cum . . . exquireret: hardly more than a substitute for the present participle.

29. scilicet: *to be sure.* **haec**: *i.e.* the writings of the poets; *cf.* the use of *illa*, p. 57. 5.

30. a pueritia . . . ediscimus: *cf.* p. 2. 12, note.

Page 66. **3. verbo**: *at a word.*

4. Roga, etc.: *cf. Tolle*, etc., p. 14. 26, note.

7. Quis igitur, etc.: *i.e.* and he can go to the very extreme of disgrace without a twinge — surely a sad case! Here, as often, Cicero cannot resist the temptation to give Epicurus a side thrust. For *Quis*, see p. 59. 27, note.

8. quo: see p. 3. 4, note.

9. Quare: returning to the line of thought interrupted by *Roga hoc idem Epicurum* (line 4).

10. dedisti: *cf. dasne*, p. 12. 28.

11. intelleges: *you will come to see.*

12. quam: *how (strenuously)*: *cf. quam*, p. 61. 6, note.

15. Concludunt ratiunculas . . . cur: *frame sophistical arguments to show that.* For *concludunt*, see *conclusum sit*, p. 24. 25, note.

16. quasi . . . laboretur: *as though the difficulty were one of terminology*, etc. For the tense, see p. 7. 9, note fin. **ducipis**: *trifle with.*

17. Zeno: founder of the Stoic School; *cf.* Introd. § 10.

18. capior: *I am attracted.*

21. Ad ineptias redis: *lit., you are having recourse to trifles, i.e. you are evading the issue.*

24. Numquam quicquam: *sc. interest.* In this phrase *numquam* is merely a form of emphatic negation, a use of the word common enough in colloquial speech; *cf.* such expressions as 'never a bit of it.'

26. reiciendum: *cf.* p. 102. 22, note fin., and Introd. § 10.

28. Haec: expanded by the words *quod . . . dicere*. For the gender of the pronoun, *cf. hic . . . hoc*, p. 24. 4, note. **copia verborum**: (*mere*) *prolixity.*

31. vix: modifying the following infinitives.

32. nec mentiris: *and you are right* (*i.e.* in so saying). **re . . . verbis**; *cf. verbo . . . re*, line 16. While Zeno's *theory* is lofty and high sounding, it is here objected that he fails to maintain it *in fact*, since the definition of pain given by him, is, for all practical purposes, an admission that pain is an evil; *cf.* again Introd. § 10.

Page 67. **1. Nihil bonum**, etc.: Zeno is represented as falling back upon a parrot-like repetition of his chief dogma instead of arguing.

2. Optare: *stating an ideal.* The infinitive here stands in the construction of a predicate nominative.

4. Illud: *the following (principle); cf.* p. 5. 13, note fin. **omnia quae**, *etc.*: as the Peripatetics held.

5. Hoc posito: *with this (principle) postulated.*

6. verborum concertatione: *i.e. striving about words* — a failing of the Stoics, according to the speaker; *cf.* p. 66. 15 and 66. 32, note fin.

7. isti: *i.e.* the Stoics. **honestum**: *virtuous, honorable* (not 'honest'). In designating the *summum bonum* of the Stoics, *honestum* (used as a noun) is a synonym of *virtus.*

8. idem: *cf. eadem*, p. 28. 8, note.

9. amplectimur: *i.e. designate (by).*

10. putantur: *are counted, i.e.* by the Peripatetics (see Introd. § 8).

11. ne . . . quidem: see grammatical references p. 28. 32, note.

12. omnia: *sc. mala.*

13. comparanda: irregularly attracted to the number of *omnia* (line 12).

14. peius: *a worse thing.*

17. in ea intuens: *looking to these; cf. de Off.* i. 17. 58: *totaque domus, quae spectat in nos solos neque aliud ullum potest habere perfugium.* For the gender of *ea*, *cf. integriora*, p. 18. 26, note.

18. animi inductione: *resolution of spirit.*

20. Aut enim, etc.: this proposition is elaborated in what follows by showing (*a*) that each of the cardinal virtues (*cf.* p. 28. 6, note fin.) is incompatible with yielding to pain, and (*b*) that these virtues are inseparable — to lack one of them means to lack all.

21. esse: *that there be.* **sine qua**, etc.: for the Stoics taught that knowledge and virtue are one, or, more exactly, that knowledge (*σοφία*) is the underlying quality which finds expression in all four of the cardinal virtues. There is, however, some unclearness in the present passage. Elsewhere (*de Off.* i. 43. 153) Cicero distinguishes carefully between the knowledge which underlies all virtue (*σοφία*) and the cardinal virtue *φρόνησις* or *ἐπιστήμη*, calling the former *sapientia* and the latter *prudentia;* but here the two conceptions seem blended somewhat confusedly in *Prudentiam.*

23. nihil proficientem, etc.: *i.e.* by which you gain no advantage and suffer needlessly.

25. propter vim doloris: *i.e.* when tortured to make him speak; *cf.* the case of fortitude mentioned at p. 77. 3 ff.

26. commissa: *secrets; lit., things intrusted (to him).*

29. respondebis: *will you make answer, i.e.* if you succumb to pain.

32. dixerit: probably future perfect indicative; *cf.* the familiar *dixerit quispiam.* **Amittenda**: *we must forego.*

Page 68. 1. sepeliendum: *must be suppressed.* **Ecquid scis igitur**, etc.: taking up the second of the two points mentioned in the note on p. 67. 20. For *Ecquid*, see p. 8. 7, note.

2. Corinthiis: *sc. vasis, i.e.* works of art made of Corinthian bronze. These were expensive and highly prized.

3. etsi: *cf.* the use of *quamquam*, p. 2. 15. The remark thus introduced is suggested by the sudden recollection that, according to Stoic theory, virtue once gained cannot be lost.

4. confessus eris: the indicative in a future condition in indirect discourse is occasionally found in Cicero's writings, especially in his correspondence.

7. aut Philoctetam illum: the last two words of the sentence (*aut te*) are suppressed, the speaker checking himself in time to avoid so pointed a reference. For the plight of Philoctetes, see p. 61. 21, note.

10. in tecto umido: his home at this time was a cave (*cf. de Fin.* ii. 29. 94). The iambic verses here quoted are perhaps from the *Philocteta* of Accius (*cf.* p. 61. 25, note).

12. Resonando . . . refert: *echoes back.* **voces**: *cries; cf. voces*, p. 62. 4, note.

14. desideraretur: contrary to fact apodosis, the condition (*e.g. si dolor non malum esset*) being gathered from the preceding negative clause; *cf. nec enim esset dolendum*, p. 39. 3. This abbreviated style of contrary to fact conditional sentence is very common in Cicero; *cf.* also *videbunt*, p. 23. 4, note. **patientia**: *endurance.*

15. exornamus: *sc. laudibus.*

16. gloriosi: *boastful.*

17. vel: *or, if you will; cf. vel*, p. 11. 5, note. **sane**: see p. 59. 29, note.

18. da iugulum: *i.e.* for the fatal blow. The phrase is borrowed from the language of the arena. **Volcaniis armis**: *i.e.* armor which cannot be pierced, *arma*, as is often the case, referring particularly to the defensive equipment. Vulcan was said to have been the smith who forged Achilles' arms.

21. sive . . . sive: about equivalent to *vel . . . vel.* **de . . . sententia**: *acting at the instance (of)*; or, more literally, *in accordance with the will (of).*

22. Lycurgi: *sc. leges. Cf.* note on *Lycurgi*, p. 44. 23.

25. ad aram, etc.: it is said that an oracle commanded the shedding of human blood on the altar of Artemis, but that, instead of offering human sacrifices, the Spartans fulfilled the letter of the law by instituting the flogging contests here referred to. These contests furnished the necessary blood and at the same time tested the endurance of the boys. It seems a well-established fact that the participants in some cases held out to the very death, as Cicero here reports.

verberibus accipiuntur: *are . . . beaten; cf. Tusc. Disp.* iv. 36. 78, where Archytas (*cf.* Introd. § 5 *a*) is quoted as saying to his steward *Quo te modo accepissem, nisi iratus essem!*

26. Ut multus, etc.: the source of this iambic trimeter is unknown.

27. cum ibi essem: *i.e.* during the trip abroad for his health and for further study in 79–77 B.C.; *cf.* Introd. § 2.

29. Quid ergo? *cf. Quid*, p. 8. 3, note.

30. ratio: *i.e.* philosophy.

Page 69. **2. omnino**: *to be sure*, the concessive use of the word. **differt**: impersonal, *aliquid* being either nominative or accusative.

3. functio: modified both by the possessive genitives *animi* and *corporis* and also by the objective genitives *operis* and *muneris*.

4. muneris: *task.* **motus asper**: *irritating stir.*

5. alienus a: *unpleasant to.*

6. uno nomine: *i.e.* πόνος. This comment of Cicero's is most unjust. The fact that πόνος, which usually means 'labor,' may also signify 'suffering' is of no more significance than the fact that *labor* is at times used as a synonym of *dolor*. Greek by no means lacked specific words to express 'suffering' (*e.g.* λύπη, ἄλγος, etc.).

7. vel potius: *cf.* p. 49. 20, note. **amantis doloris**: a mistaken translation of φιλόπονος; for in this compound πόνος has its usual force (= *labor*), the whole being equivalent to *laboriosus*. There is nothing whatever in the use of the word to indicate that (as Cicero maintains) the Greeks could not point the distinction between *labor* and *dolor*.

9. O verborum inops, etc.: Cicero's patriotism and the fact that he was engaged in the task of developing a philosophical terminology for Latin (*cf.* Introd. § 24), led him too often to indulge in disparaging outbursts such as that here found in the text.

11. varices: *varicose veins.*

12. secabantur . . . ducebat: specifying simply the time, hence the indicative. **C. Mario**: the famous democratic leader. For the incident here referred to, *cf.* p. 77. 15 ff.

13. agmen: not *aciem.*

19. parietum, etc.: *cf. vitam . . . umbratilem*, p. 65. 25.

20. horum: neuter, to be construed with *simile.*

21. apud, etc.: iambic trimeter. The source of these verses is unknown.

22. Quibus magis: for final *s*, *cf. Sisyphus*, p. 5. 17, and the note there. **Eurota**: a rare form of the nominative. Along the river was a running course.

23. Militia: *i.e.* military exercise. The women did not participate in actual warfare. **studio**: see B. 191. 2. *a*, A. 382. 1, G. 356, H. 433, and *cf. laudi*, p. 2. 25. **fertilitas barbara**: a characteristic of eastern nations was their large families of children.

25. abiciuntur: *are thrown down.*

28. dico: *cf. dicis*, p. 6. 24. Used thus in an explanatory clause, *dico* is regularly postpositive.

29. quorum procedit, etc.: *i.e.* as narrated in history; for in Cicero's day the Spartans had long since been shorn of their glory and importance, and now constituted an insignificant part of a peaceful and stagnant province. *Cf.* however p. 49. 20, where, in a similar passage, the correction of the present tense to the imperfect seems to show that present and past conditions in Greece were not always in sharp contrast in Cicero's mind. **agmen ad tibiam**: the text is in almost hopeless confusion at this point. The reading here given rests on slight authority, but is in harmony with the context; for in this passage the speaker has in mind particularly the difficulties of the daily routine (*cf.* p. 70. 1 ff.). Otherwise *aciem* might seem to be required instead of *agmen;* for it appears that the Spartans used the musical accompaniment for the march only when advancing into battle. But it is quite possible that Cicero was not very critical as to the exact time when the accompaniment was used; it was the fact of the accompaniment itself which interested him. For *ad tibiam*, *cf. ad tibicinem*, p. 2. 16. **nec adhibetur**, etc.: *i.e.* all their war songs are set to anapaestic metre (*anapaestis pedibus*). The use of the flute (instead of the trumpet) and the stirring war songs apparently made the Spartan service seem to Cicero less onerous.

30. nostri exercitus: with these words the sentence takes a fresh start, leaving *Militiam* (line 28) without construction.

31. unde nomen habeant: *i.e.* from *exerceo.* **qui labor**, etc.: also dependent on *vides.* For the force of *qui*, *cf. quem*, p. 23. 5, note.

Page 70. **1. ferre**, etc.: explaining *labor . . . agminis.* **plus dimidiati mensis**: see B. 217. 3, A. 407. *c*, G. 296. R. 4, H. 471. 4.

2. si quid: *whatever.* **vallum**: *the stake.* The nominative is *vallus.* These stakes were for use in intrenchment, several being carried by each ordinary soldier of the rank and file.

3. in onere . . . numerant: *regard as a burden.*

6. ferat: *cf. fert*, p. 21. 26, note.

7. expeditis: *all ready (for action).* **Quid**, etc.: with these words the speaker resumes the enumeration of the difficulties of the service.

8. ille cursus, etc.: *i.e.* the manœuvres of the drill.

10. Adduc: *cf. Tolle*, p. 14. 26, note.

13. experti sumus: *e.g.* at the battle of Pharsalia, where Caesar's well trained legionaries from Gaul routed Pompey's less experienced troops. Cicero had thrown in his lot with Pompey, and was in Greece at the time of the battle, which, however, he did not witness, being detained by illness at Dyrrachium.

15. Quin etiam: *cf. quin etiam*, p. 24. 3. **videmus**: *i.e.* in literature. Cicero was not, however, a stranger to the scenes of the actual battle-field; for as a lad he had served in the Social War, and when governor of Cilicia (51–50 B.C.) he had in person directed certain military operations. **ex acie efferri . . . saucios**: this clause tells the circumstances under which the raw recruit strikingly illustrates the truth which Cicero is here enforcing; it might therefore have been made subordinate.

16. rudem illum, etc.: a generic expression; *cf. novum illud exemplum*, Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* 51. 27. **quamvis**: *cf. Quamvis*, p. 22. 1, note.

17. At vero, etc.: strict symmetry would demand that the indirect discourse be continued into this clause, and that *ille exercitatus* be as indefinite as *rudem illum* (line 16); but at this point the thought of a definite hero obtrudes (*cf.* Eurypylus, line 26), and the construction is broken off.

18. ob eamque rem: *cf.* p. 29. 9.

20. O Patriooles, etc.: iambic tetrameter acatalectic. The quotation is perhaps from a play of Ennius. **Patricoles**: the devoted friend of Achilles. It is at the tent of the latter that the interview here described takes place. The form of the name (*Patricoles*) serves as a reminder that the early Romans were prone to break up certain consonant groups in Greek words by the insertion of short vowels. With *Patricoles* (Πάτροκλος) *cf. Aesculapi* (Ἀσκληπιός), line 24. **auxilium et vestras manus**: a case of hendiadys, *the aid of your hands.*

21. oppeto malam pestem: *i.e.* succumb to death. For the final *m* of *malam*, *cf. enimvero*, p. 46. 25, note. **mandatam**: dealt *out.*

22. potis est: *i.e. potest.*

23. Si qui: *if (perchance) in some way.* **magis**: *the rather;* here hardly different from *potius* in sense. For the force of final *s*, *cf. Sisyphus*, p. 5. 17, note.

24. Aesculapi liberorum: *i.e.* Podalirius and Machaon, who, like their father, were skilled in medicine. **porticus**: *i.e.* the tent entrances.

25. potis: *sc. est; cf.* line 22. Here the expression is impersonal.

26. Eurypylus: one of the leaders of the Greeks in the Trojan war.

27. exercitum: *well disciplined; cf. nostri exercitus*, etc., p. 69. 30 ff. **continuatur**: *is rife; lit., goes on without interruption.* **quam**: *cf. quam*, p. 14. 10, note.

29. ferendum sit: the subject is left somewhat indefinite; in translation 'his present plight' may be supplied.

Page 71. **4. Siquidem homo esset**, etc.: *i.e.* he would do so, if he were an ordinary man; being an old warrior, he is not disturbed at the sight of a little blood. **sed nihil vidi minus**: *but nothing of that sort here; lit., nothing have I seen less.* For similar phrases, *cf. de Fin.* iii. 13. 43, *de Off.* iii. 20. 81 fin., and *p. Sulla* 19. 53.

6. ut se sustinet: in dealing with early Latin it is often difficult to distinguish between direct and indirect questions; many which seem naturally punctuated as indirect employ the indicative mood.

7. eofari: here with passive force. **quantum factis suppetit**: *as there really is in fact.* In this sentence *dictis . . . factis* is a mere variant on *verbis . . . rebus; cf. rebus*, p. 51. 21.

8. Quiesce, etc.: the clause is addressed by Cicero to Eurypylus.

9. Aesopus: a famous actor, a friend of Cicero. The reference to him is inserted here by way of compliment. The speaker means to say that Aesopus is such an artist that, when impersonating a hero like Eurypylus, he would instinctively avoid such an incongruity as making an experienced warrior appear too concerned about a wound.

10. ubi, etc.: a phrase from the narration which Eurypylus began in line 7 above. **fortuna Hectoris**: *cf. aliqua vi morbi*, p. 21. 16, note.

12. Sic: *cf.* the use of *ita*, p. 24. 32. **intemperans**: *irrepressible.*

13. gloria: *spirit.* **Ergo**, etc.: *cf. Ergo*, p. 15. 5, note.

14. Ille: *i.e.* the philosopher.

15. adhuc: *thus far.*

16. loquor: note the tense. The discussion of abstract principles begins with p. 72. 14 ff. **ratione et sapientia**: *philosophical theory; cf. sapientiae*, p. 61. 16, note. The hendiadys *ratione et via*, p. 56. 24, is similar.

19. cui: *in whose honor.* The Olympian games marked a religious festival. **exercebit**: expressing contemporaneous future action, but represented most naturally in English by a present.

22. Indi: *i.e.* the religious devotees of that country; *cf.* pp. 114. 9 ff. and 77. 8 ff.

23. Sed quid hos: *sc. commemoro.*

24. ille antiquus: because at the time of this writing the consulship had become an empty honor, bestowed upon whomsoever Caesar chose. The dignity of the office was still further lessened by the fact that the patronage was eked out by arranging for consulships of short duration. Indeed at the very end of the year 45 a *consul suffectus* had been chosen to serve a part of one day (*ad. Fam.* vii. 30. 1). In touching on this case Cicero notes the remarkable fact that during this consulship no one took breakfast, no crime was committed, and that the vigilant official did not once close his eyes in sleep! **videtur**: *seems (equal to); cf.* p. 49. 19, note. **aut . . . aut**: marking an apposition to *gladiatores.* For another example of partitive apposition, see p. 9. 28 ff.

29. si satis, etc.: the shift at this point from indirect question to indirect statement is not unnatural.

30. decumbere: thereby acknowledging themselves vanquished.

Page 72. **1. vultum mutavit**: *i.e.* showed fear.

2. non modo: *cf. non modo*, p. 7. 14, note.

3. ferrum recipere iussus: *cf. da iugulum*, p. 68. 18. In case the spectators were not pleased with the fight which a vanquished gladiator had made, they would cry *recipe telum*, meaning that he was to be despatched by his victorious opponent.

4. meditatio: *schooling (of the mind).*

5. Ergo, etc.: *cf. Ergo*, p. 15. 5, note. **hoc poterit**: *sc. facere.*

6. Samnis: *i.e.* a gladiator, not necessarily from Samnium perhaps; but armed in the traditional fashion of the Samnites; *cf.* the similar use of *Threx.* This verse is cited from a satire of Lucilius. **dignus**: for the treatment of final *s*, see p. 5. 17, note.

10. haud scio an: *I am inclined to think that*; cf. the use of

nescio an. **Cicero expresses his feelings on the question at issue more decidedly** ***ad Fam.*** **vii. 1.** 3: *sed quae potest homini esse polito delectatio, cum aut homo imbecillus a valentissima bestia laniatur, aut praeclara bestia venabulo transverberatur?* *Cf.* also *ad Att.* ii. 1. 1: *cunti mihi Antium et gladiatores M. Metelli cupide relinquenti venit obviam tuus puer.*

11. sontes: (*condemned*) *criminals.* Some of these entered the **lists with the condition** that they should die within a year, while **others were to be discharged,** if they survived at the end of three **years.** **depugnabant:** note the prefix, and compare the force of *ex* **in composition,** p. 1. 13, note. For the mood, *cf.* p. 69. 12, note. **auribus: to which philosophical** discussion, for example, might appeal.

12. fortior: *i.e. more inspiring; cf. cogitationibus mollissimis,* **p. 42. 9, note.**

13. disciplina: *schooling.* These contests were more inspiring **because less professional.** For the sake of the moral effect on his **troops it is said that,** on his arrival in Italy, Hannibal instituted a somewhat similar contest between captive mountaineers, the latter volunteering to fight, the reward of victory being liberty, a horse, and arms; see Livy xxi. 42.

15. sis: *i.e. si vis; cf.* p. 59. 19, note. **ratione:** see p. 71. 16, note.

17. Egone ut, etc.: *I interrupt you?* with something of exclamatory force. For this type of question, see p. 40. 32, note. **hoc:** *i.e.* the present interruption due to *M.'s* last remark.

19. viderint: *may decide; cf. viderit,* p. 11. 27, note.

20. contortulis . . . conclusiunculis: *sophistries hair-splitting and crabbed as it were; cf. ratiunculas,* p. 66. 15. For the vagueness of expression secured by the use of *quibusdam, cf. intentionem quandam,* p. 10. 16, and the note there.

21. ad sensus permanantibus: *i.e.* convincing. For the phrasing, *cf.* Plato, *Phaedrus* 250 D: *εἰς ὄψιν ἰόν.* **volunt:** *cf. voluit,* p. 10. 26, note.

22. illud: *i.e. dolere* (*cf.* line 19).

23. visione et specie: *conception and idea.*

24. vehementius: *too deeply; cf. serius,* p. 2. 11, note.

26. quo: see B. 282. 1. *a,* A. 531. 2. *a,* G. 545. 2 and R. 1, H. 568. 7.

28. virorum esse fortium, etc.: *that it is* (*the duty*) *of men brave, etc.*

30. toleranter: *cf. intoleranter*, p. 63. 23, note.

Page 73. **1. Quod ergo**, etc.: the sentence is worded somewhat inexactly; for *quod* has reference to the bearing of pain in a manly fashion, whereas its antecedent (*id*) refers to pain itself.

3. Atquin: a form found mostly in later writers. It is synonymous with *atqui*. **vide, ne**: *consider whether it is not true that*, etc.; *cf. Vide, ne*, p. 36. 13, note. **cum**: concessive.

4. adfectiones: *attitudes, states.*

5. una . . . excellebat: the intensive use of *unus* with superlatives is common. Here the verb has something of superlative force. The imperfect tense is chosen because the speaker is thinking only of the time when the names were first given; the present (of a general truth) might have been used instead.

8. munera: *functions;* or perhaps here, *manifestations.*

9. his: for the case, *cf. eloquentia*, p. 52. 12, note. **vel potius**: *cf.* p. 49. 20, note.

12. medicinam: *healing art.*

14. optimus: *cf. optimis*, p. 3. 19, note. **tantum . . . quantum**: the context implies that the limit is small.

18. Iteradum: *just repeat; cf.* the force of *-dum* in the familiar *agedum*. The phrase is perhaps an inexact quotation from the *Iliona* of Pacuvius (p. 46. 29, note init.); *cf.* the longer citation in *Acad.* ii. 27. 88: *Age adsta, mane, audi; iteradum eadem ista mihi!*

19. dicas esse: *call.*

20. Summum: *sc. id est.* **quo**: see p. 3. 4, note.

21. magnitudinem doloris: a mere variant on *summum dolorem; cf. aliqua vi morbi*, p. 21. 16, note.

23. Philoctetae: see p. 61. 21, note. **Bene**: *very good.* Epicurus welcomes a question that opens the way to the second part of the explanation of his dictum '*Neglege dolorem*' (line 14); *cf.* the use of *optime, de Div.* i. 23. 47. Having noted that supreme pain is of short duration (sometimes on account of the death of the sufferer!), he now proceeds to expound his views on pain which is less than supreme and of long duration. **plane**: *cf. Ita plane*, p. 7. 23.

25. possunt . . . potest . . . possunt: for the mood, *cf. possum*, p. 31. 2, note. So *possum* at p. 74. 1.

28. Nunc: if the text is sound, *nunc* has here the weak force of 'now' as used to introduce a conciliatory or guarded statement; *cf.* the use of *iam, p. 6. 17.*

29. nihil sapere: *cf. parva sentiunt*, p. 14. 19, note.

31. decem atomis: ablative of degree of difference. The phrasing here is suggested by the fact of Epicurus' championship of the atomic theory (*cf.* Introd. § 5 c, and p. 11. 24, note), a doctrine with which Cicero had little sympathy; hence the slighting tone here and elsewhere (*cf.* p. 11. 24 ff.). **non continuo**: *not necessarily*.

Page 74. **1. multos . . . bonos viros**: *many excellent men*; a half humorous touch; for the character of the men has nothing to do with the point here at issue. In a similar strain some one has remarked that snoring is 'a failing of many excellent people.'

2. complures annos: *these many years*. **crucientur**: *cf. permanet*, p. 60. 19, note.

3. catus: *wily*. The same word is used at p. 10. 2 in a favorable sense. **terminat . . . modum**: *designates the limit*. **nec . . . nec**: see p. 26. 20, note.

6. nihil prorsus: *absolutely nothing (worth while)*; *cf.* the pregnant force of *aliquid* at p. 10. 19. **cogamusque**, etc.: not meaning that this line of argument is to be elaborated here, but merely calling attention to a thought that needs to be brought home forcefully to Epicurus; *cf.* the somewhat similar passage in *de Off.* iii. 19. 75: *Hoc qui admiratur, is se, quid sit vir bonus, nescire fateatur.*

8. quamvis idem: *though he . . . notwithstanding*. **forticulum**: *brave enough*. The diminutive is rather slighting.

9. torminibus . . . stranguria: *griping pains . . . strangury*. Cicero has in mind at this point a letter which Epicurus wrote on his deathbed, making mention of his sufferings and the consolations by which he offset them; *cf. de Fin.* ii. 30. 96.

11. consentaneum: *sound, logical*.

12. iis, quibus, etc.: probably said with special reference to the Peripatetics. The description would quite as well fit the Stoics; but in this book Cicero does not show his usual sympathy for the Stoic position (see pp. 66. 15 ff. and 72. 19 ff.), finding the Peripatetic view a more practical and satisfactory basis for a discussion of the means of bearing pain; *cf.* p. 67. 4 ff., and the note on line 30 below.

14. iactare te: *writhe*.

16. barbaros: *i.e.* gladiators.

17. videris: subjunctive.

19. Fieri non potest, etc.: the reply of the sufferer.

20. Audio: *to be sure*, spoken sarcastically.

21. ut, etc.: note that the clause thus introduced depends upon a verb of fearing. **hoc . . . patiatur**: *sc. ferri.*

25. honestatem: *cf. honestum*, p. 67. 7, note.

26. pluribus: *cf. pluris*, p. 19. 4, note.

28. Volo . . . dicere: *I mean . . . to say.*

30. vel: apparently here in the sense of *vel potius* (*cf.* p. 49. 20, note). **sua sponte**: *on its own merits.* **quod quidem citius dixerim**, etc.: *i.e.* sooner than recede from the Peripatetic position that virtue is the *summum bonum*, the speaker is prepared to accept the more extreme view of the Stoics that it is the only, as well as the greatest, good. *Cf.* the note on line 12, and see Introd. §§ 8 and 10. For *dixerim*, see *erraverim*, p. 18. 8, note.

32. honesto . . . turpi: here used as nouns; *cf.* again *honestum*, p. 67. 7, note.

Page 75. **3. Quod si tibi persuasum est**: such passive constructions serve as a reminder that the active of *persuadere* may take a direct object along with the indirect. In the passive use this accusative appears as the subject, and the dative is retained; *cf. Tusc. Disp.* iii. 29. 72: *quo . . . persuaso*, and *de Invent.* i. 17. 23: *quiddam auditori persuasum videtur.*

5. tute: see B. 84. 2, A. 143. *d*, G. 102. N. 2, H. 175. 4. **nescio quo modo**: see p. 12. 24, note.

6. quasi . . . simus: for the tense, see grammatical references in the note on p. 7. 9.

8. tributus: *i.e. distributus.* For the thought of the sentence, *cf. triplicem*, p. 10. 24, note.

11. natura: *naturally; cf. natura*, p. 16. 17, note.

12. quodam modo: *in a way.*

13. homine: for the construction, see p. 3. 4, note.

14. omnium: neuter.

15. conixa: *after struggling forward.* **longius**: *cf. serius*, p. 2. 11, note.

16. id: resuming the preceding *ut*-clause.

21. constringatur: *be restrained.* Instead of instituting a comparison between the method of treatment to be applied to *illa pars animi* (line 19) and the method prescribed for treating persons dangerously irresponsible, the simile is incorporated with the main statement; *i.e. illa pars animi* is spoken of as though it were such a person. Cicero is thus led insensibly to wander a little from his text (ut tute

tibi imperes), turning aside for a moment to touch on the means by which we are to induce *other people* to exhibit self-control.

22. fractos pudore, etc.: *i.e.* so humiliated that their friends must needs resort to physical force to restrain them from doing violence to themselves.

23. Ergo hos: *sc. constringi*, logically parallel with *revocatos* (*cf.* line 25, note); a rather harsh zeugma. The governing verb is *oportebit*, line 25.

25. revocatos . . . tueri: strict logic would require *revocari* ('be rallied') . . . *ut tueantur*.

26. Niptris: '*The Bath*,' a tragedy of Pacuvius (*cf.* p. 46. 29, note) based on the *Νίπτρα* of Sophocles. In it were set forth the circumstances of the death of Ulysses mortally wounded by a poisoned spear. Apparently there was a scene in the play in which the hero was represented as having his feet bathed, an incident which suggested the name of the original drama. **ille sapientissimus Graeciae**: the possessive genitive here is naturally represented in English by a different turn of phrase, *e.g.* 'that wisest of the Greeks;' *cf. de Senectute* 10. 31: *dux ille Graeciae*.

27. vel . . . potius: see p. 49. 20, note.

28. Pedetemptim: *sc. me ferte*, words addressed to his attendants. These lines form part of an anapaestic system.

31. apud: see p. 47. 14, note. **illum**: the more remote in time and nationality.

Page 76. **2. personae gravitatem intuentes**: *mindful of the dignity of his personage.*

3. Tu quoque, etc.: the anapaestic movement continues through this and the two following extracts.

4. nimis: for the force of final *s*, *cf. Sisyphus*, p. 5. 17, note.

7. ferendi doloris: with *magistram* (line 8).

10. Retinete, tenete: *stop! stop!* **opprimit**: *overwhelms* (*me*).

12. ilico: *instantly.*

14. Mittite: *leave* (*me*).

16. ut: *how*, introducing an indirect question; *cf.* the use of *ut*, p. 71. 6.

17. extremis: see B. 350. 4. *b*, A. 293, G. 291. 1. R. 2.

19. Conqueri, etc.: trochaic tetrameter catalectic.

***20.* additus**: *sc. est*; i.e. is a weakness (of).

21. Huius: *i.e. Ulixi.*

22. pudens: *well disciplined; cf.* the use of *modestus* in this sense. **In quo**, etc.: a description of the *sapiens* (*cf. sapientis*, p. 9. 21, note).

25. igitur: resuming after the parenthesis; *cf. igitur*, p. 9. 24. **sive**: *or rather.*

28. Eriget ipse se: continuing the conception of dual personality which runs through this whole passage; *cf.* p. 75. 5 ff., and *ipse secum*, p. 77. 1.

Page 77. **3. Obversentur**, etc.: *let honorable examples be kept before the mind.*

4. Eleates: *of Elea*, a city of Lucania. Zeno lived in the fifth century B.C. He is not to be confused with the founder of the Stoic School (Introd. § 10).

5. conscios delendae tyrannidis: *his partners in the plot to overthrow*, etc.; *cf.* the force of the genitive in the phrase *nihil sentiendi receptaculum*, p. 128. 9. The facts of the conspiracy here alluded to are not definitely known. **Anaxarcho**: a friend of Alexander, whom he accompanied into Asia. On the return journey after Alexander's death Anaxarchus suffered shipwreck on Cyprus, and the story runs that he was there pounded to death in a stone mortar by order of the king of that country, whom he had previously offended. The name of this king is elsewhere given as Nicocreon.

6. Democritio: *cf. Democritii*, p. 36. 4, and the note there.

8. Calanus: a celebrated philosopher of India, who followed Alexander as far west as Persia. Falling sick there, he had a pyre erected and caused himself to be burned alive; *cf. de Div.* i. 23. 47.

9. Caucasi: this designation includes the Himalayas.

10. sed fac: *cf. Sed fac*, p. 31. 4, note.

11. Opinio: *attitude of mind.*

13. eadem: *cf.* p. 28. 8, note. **fluimus . . . mollitia**: *lose stamina through self-indulgence.*

15. rusticanus: *from the country*, here with the usual implication of *rusticus*, *i.e.* implying lack of intellectual culture. Cicero was himself a fellow-townsman of Marius, and elsewhere speaks with pride of the fact that rural Arpinum had produced two such citizens; *cf.* p. 109. 24, note. **plane**: *beyond question; cf. plane*, pp. 7. 23 and 31. 9.

16. supra: *i.e.* p. 69. 11 ff. **principio**: namely, of the operation. It was customary to strap the patient down, anaesthetics, of course, *being then unknown.*

18. auctoritas: *the precedent.* **Videsne**: the question really looks toward an affirmative answer.

19. esse: *sc. dolorem; i.e.* as subject of *esse.* This line of thought, which would make the sufferings of life a subjective matter, is not suited to the practical tone of this book (*cf.* p. 74. 12, note), and it is therefore brought in only as a brief parenthesis. But in Book iii. 22. 52 ff., where the point of view is different, this idea is developed at great length; *cf.* p. 90. 15, note.

20. idem: *cf. eadem*, line 13.

23. Totum, etc.: *the whole matter therefore turns on this.* **eo**: expanded by the following *ut*-clause. **Ostendi**: namely at pp. 75. 17 ff. and 76. 30 ff.

24. esset: for the tense, *cf. contineretur*, p. 1. 7, note. **genus**: *method.*

25. quid . . . dignissimum sit: *i.e.* what (line of conduct) comports best (with), etc.

27. animum: *i.e.* the lower and unreasoning part of the *animus; cf.* p. 75. 7 ff. **nescio quo pacto**: *cf. nescio quo modo*, p. 12. 24, note.

31. integro corpore: *i.e.* without a wound.

32. speciem: *prospect;* lit. *appearance.*

Page 78. **1. abiciunt se**: *i.e. give up; cf.* the literal force of this verb as seen at p. 69. 25.

3. animi similitudines cum corpore: *analogies between soul and body; cf. tempus . . . post mortem*, p. 8. 31, note.

4. contentis: *tense.*

5. depellit pressum, etc.: *i.e.* deprives burdens of all their power to crush.

7. si verum quaerimus: *if we want to know the truth.*

10. hoc idem: *i.e.* this same state of tenseness.

12. refutetur ac reiciatur: these subjunctives may be rendered by 'should'; *cf.* p. 48. 24, note fin.

13. Philocteteus ille clamor: *cf.* p. 68. 8 ff.

14. idque: *and even that* (namely, *ingemescere*); *cf. iisque*, p. 14. 14.

15. hic: *such; cf. eam*, p. 18. 12, note.

17. ne . . . quidem: *cf.* the grammatical references in the note *on p. 28. 32.*

21. iactandis: *wielding.*

22. doleant: for the mood, see grammatical references in the note on p. 1. 9.

24. maius: cognate accusative. **satis habent**: *consider (it) sufficient.*

26. omnibus ungulis: *with might and main.* The Latin phrase was perhaps suggested by the effort put forth by horses drawing a heavy load.

28. M. Antonium: the most famous orator of his day (*cf.* pp. 5. 21 and 105. 18 ff.), born 143 B.C. At the time here referred to he was defending himself on a charge of treason, the Varian law being directed against those who had in any way aided or abetted the Italians in the struggle known as the Social War. On this charge he was acquitted, but lost his life a little later during the domination of Marius.

29. lapidum . . . telorum: both dependent on *emissiones* (line 30).

30. eo . . . quo: *cf. quo (faciliorem) . . . eo*, p. 20. 24, note. **graviores emissiones habent**: *i.e. yield a more effective discharge.* For the plural *emissiones*, *cf. cantibus*, p. 2. 30, note.

32. gravior . . . missa: these words fit best the nearest subject, and are evidently chosen with special reference to it. A case of zeugma.

Page 79. **3. elamentabilis**: for the force of the prefix, *cf. elaborarent*, p. 1. 13, note.

4. dixerim: *cf. erraverim*, p. 18. 8, note.

5. si: note the following *tamen*. **tamen videremus**, etc.: *i.e.* it would still be a question whether it is allowable or not.

6. esset: for the sequence, see grammatical references in the note on p. 5. 5, and *cf. contineretur*, p. 1. 7, note.

8. fletu muliebri: for construction, see p. 3. 4, note.

9. patet latius: *has a wider application.* **Omnibus rebus**: for the construction, see grammatical references in the note on *eloquentia*, p. 52. 12.

11. Ira exardescit: this and the following clause are logically subordinate. They might be replaced by *si-* or *cum*-clauses.

15. toto pectore . . . cogitare: a phrase based on the popular conception of the heart as the seat of the understanding. **quam**: see p. 14. 10, note.

16. ante dixi: see p. 74. 24 ff.

17. saepius: *cf. serius*, p. 2. 11, note.

18. cuius . . . quasi lumen aliquod: *some flash of it, so to speak; cf. the use of quasi*, p. 10. 22.

19. ut: *on condition that; cf. ut*, p. 43. 22, note.

22. vel: *i.e. vel potius*, for which, see p. 49. 20, note. *Cf.* the use of *vel*, p. 74. 30.

23. tantum modo: *i.e. ever so little.*

24. gradu: *position.*

25. Decii: see p. 39. 16 ff. **inruebant**: for the mood, *cf. secabantur*, etc., p. 69. 12, note.

26. nobilitas mortis et gloria: *i.e. (the prospect of) a noteworthy and renowned death; cf. nobilissimo*, p. 2. 25, note, and *aliqua vi morbi*, p. 21. 16, note.

27. una: *cf. una*, p. 9. 27. The story runs that when, at the battle of Mantinea (362 B.C.), Epaminondas was struck and mortally wounded by a spear, he saw that his death would immediately follow the removal of the weapon, and caused that operation to be delayed until he learned that his army was victorious; *cf.* p. 52. 8, note.

29. acceperat: *i.e. had found.*

31. in lectulo: freely, *in the study.* For the *lectulus* as a place for writing and meditation, *cf. de Senectute* 11. 38: *tamen me lectulus meus oblectaret ea ipsa cogitantem, quae iam agere non possem.*

Page 80. **1. sane**: *to be sure; cf. sane*, p. 17. 19. **Heracleotes**: *of Heraclea.* This designation helps to distinguish the Dionysius here referred to from another Stoic of the same name who is mentioned at p. 65. 13; *cf.* Introd. § 11.

4. quae . . . sensisset: *cf. prava sentiunt*, p. 14. 19, note. For Zeno's teaching on the subject of pain, see p. 66. 16 ff.

5. Cleanthes: see Introd. § 11.

7. si . . . non possem . . . esset: expressing futurity from a point in the past, *i.e.* stating the argument as it lay in Dionysius' mind at the time he was Zeno's pupil. This use of the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive is not uncommon; see A. 516. *f*, G. 596. 2. Other Ciceronian examples are cited in the *American Journal of Philology* XXVIII, p. 2 ff.

12. Epigonis: *the Epigoni*, a play of *Accius* (p. 30. 8, note) based on the Ἐπίγονοι of Aeschylus or Sophocles. The action of the dramas had to do with the war waged against Thebes by the descendants (ἐπίγονοι) of the Seven who had previously assailed that city (*cf. Menoeceus*, p. 52. 3, note). Cleanthes of course quoted the original Greek.

***13.* Amphiaraë**: one of the Seven who took part in the earlier

expedition. The story runs that, in order to save him from destruction, Zeus caused the earth to swallow up Amphiaraus, who thereupon became immortal. The verse is iambic trimeter.

15. noster Posidonius: see Introd. § 11.

17. decedens ex Syria: *i.e.* after subduing the pirates, finishing the war against Mithridates, and organizing Syria as a province. The phrase here used is the technical formula for a governor's return journey to Rome from his province.

18. sed cum, etc.: *but that, on hearing*, etc.

19. quod: *cf. Quia*, p. 8. 10, note. **eius artus laborarent**: elsewhere is found the specific statement that he was troubled with gout. **tamen**: *at any rate.*

20. nobilissimum: *cf. nobilissimo*, p. 2. 25, note. **quem ut . . . honorificis . . . verbis prosecutus esset**: *when he . . . had expressed his high regard for him.*

22. at ille . . . inquit: a sudden shift to direct discourse, leaving the preceding *ut*-clause (with its verbs in the pluperfect subjunctive) without a logical point of support.

25. narrabat: *sc. Pompeius.* **hoc ipso**: explained by *nihil esse*, etc., line 26.

28. Nihil agis: *it's no use.*

30. labores: *undertakings.*

31. contemnendo dolore: *i.e.* by counting it as nothing (in comparison with the glory to be gained); *cf.* p. 79. 20 ff. **etiam**: *also; i.e.* in addition to being *clari et nobilitati.*

Page 81. **2. magnus honos**: *high regard (for).*

3. descendant: a word commonly used in such connections as this; *cf.* the use of καταβαίνω, *e.g.* Xenophon, *Anab.* iv. 8. 27.

4. qui: *i.e. ii qui.* **petessunt**: intensive; *cf. capesso*, etc.

5. ambitionibus: *canvassing* (for office). On the use of the plural, see *cantibus*, p. 2. 30, note.

6. flamma: of course metaphorical; *cf.* 'through fire and water.'

7. qui haec olim . . . colligebant: *who in times gone by used to acquire this sort of thing.* For the generalizing neuter, *cf. haec*, p. 25. 10, note. **punctis singulis**: *a vote at a time.* In the republican period an election at Rome was apt to be a contest between men rather than between parties, and it was necessary that the candidate should approach the voters individually. Consequently election day was regularly *preceded* by a period of handshaking (prensatio), the

candidate being accompanied in his walks by attendants whose duty it was to help him out when he failed to remember a voter's name. In speaking of this busy electioneering as a thing of the past, Cicero has in mind the changes wrought by the increasing pressure of Caesar's despotism; *cf.* p. 71. 24, note. The use of *punctum* in the sense of 'vote' suggests that before the balloting system was adopted at elections the voter announced his choice verbally, the election officer recording the vote by means of a dot (*punctum*) on the wax tablet upon which the candidates' names were written.

8. Itaque, etc.: strict logic would require *Itaque Africanus, qui semper . . . habebat, eius . . . laudabat; cf. Itaque credo*, etc., p. 17. 16, and the note there. The reference is to the younger Africanus. **Socraticum**: *cf.* Introd. § 6.

10. quod: introducing a substantive clause; *cf. quod*, p. 2. 25. **labores**: *hardships.* The quotation is from the *Cyropaedia*, i. 6. 25 (*cf.* p. 121. 16, note).

13. in volgus insipientium: *for the masses of the unlearned, i.e.* for those without philosophical training. The point which Cicero would here make is that popular judgment is not to be relied upon in determining the virtuous (and, therefore, the best) course of action. The wording of this clause, however, suggests that he has somewhat vaguely in mind the distinction which Socrates drew between the ordinary and the philosophical conception of any particular virtue; *e.g.* a man is commonly thought to be a brave soldier, even though it is *fear* (of disgrace) that keeps him from deserting his post, whereas philosophy cannot admit that a state of mind in which fear plays any part is worthy the name of bravery; see Plato, *Phaedo* 68 D. On the indirect application which Cicero gives to another of Plato's arguments, see p. 26. 9, note.

17. si: *cf. si*, p. 79. 5. **in oculis . . . multitudinis**: *before the public eye, i.e.* in public life.

19. Tuo . . . iudicio: for case, *cf. eloquentia*, p. 52. 12, note. **tibi si recta probanti placebis**: *i.e.* if your higher nature (reason) grasps the truth, and you so live as to merit the approval of that higher nature.

20. tete: *i.e.* your lower nature; *cf. tute*, p. 75. 5, and the note there. **viceris**: *you will (therein) have risen above; cf.* 'he that ruleth his spirit (is better) than he that taketh a city.' **paulo ante praecipiebam**: see at p. 75. 4 ff.

22. amplitudinem animi: i.e. courage; contrast animi contractio,

p. 39. 29. **quasi quandam**: *cf. quandam quasi migrationem*, p. 13. 24, note. **exaggerationem . . . animi**: *elevation of spirit.*

25. si vacet populo: *if unsupported by popular verdict; i.e.* if maintained when popular judgment is adverse; *cf.* line 13 ff.

26. captans: *cf. captare*, p. 60. 32.

27. Quin etiam: see p. 24. 3, note.

28. venditatione: *parade.* **non quo fugiendus sit**: *sc. populus.* For the mood, see grammatical references in the note on p. 1. 9.

29. in luce se conlocari volunt: *court the light.*

30. theatrum: *audience; cf. theatris*, p. 47. 1.

31. conscientia: for the construction, see p. 3. 4, note.

32. illud: expanded by the following *ut*-clause; *cf. illa*, p. 5. 13, and the note there.

Page 82. **2. firmandam**: *must find its foundation* (*in*); more literally, *must be firmly established* (*by means of*); *cf.* such phrases as *praesidia firmare* ('establish strong outposts'), etc. **in omni genere . . . aequabilem**: *in every respect well rounded; cf. tam excellens in omni genere*, p. 2. 4, note.

5. idem: *nevertheless; cf. eadem*, p. 28. 8, note.

8. studio . . . gloria: *enthusiasm . . . desire for fame.*

10. Graeci . . . homines, etc.: the Greeks of Cicero's own day were as a nation viewed with more or less contempt by the Romans; *cf. Graeculum*, p. 37. 25. In Italy many of them eked out a meagre existence as teachers or even as parasites (*cf.* p. 126. 22, note), very poorly representing their ancestors of glorious memory.

11. prudentes ut est captus hominum satis: *clever enough within their limitations* (or, more literally, *considering the grasp of the men*). For this restrictive use of *ut*, *cf. de Senectute* 4. 12: *Multae etiam, ut in homine Romano, litterae* ('taking into consideration the fact that he was a Roman'). As to the estimate of Greek ability here expressed, *cf.* the note on line 10.

12. eidem: adversative asyndeton, *but yet. Cf.* the use of *idem* in line 5.

13. toleranter: *cf. intoleranter*, p. 63. 23, note. **humane**: *i.e.* in a seemly and fitting way.

14. lamentantur in morbo: according however to Valerius Maximus (ii. 6. 11) the lamentation over disease among these peoples was due, not to a lack of fortitude, but to the thought of inglorious death.

17. opinione: *cf.* p. 81. 13 ff. **eo**: i.e. the object of their desire; *cf. the use of id*, p. 3. 2.

18. debeas: for the mood, see p. 38. 22, note.

20. natura: the preposition *ab* may or may not accompany an ablative dependent on *alienus*.

23. Latius . . . manabit: *will reach out.*

24. aliquanto maiorem locum . . . occupabit: *will have a somewhat broader application (than to).*

25. uno: *i.e. solo.*

28. illud . . . perfugium: see p. 52. 26 ff. and p. 32. 19, note.

29. si . . . deus qui: *i.e. si . . . qui deus.*

32. Arionem: a Greek poet and musician of the seventh century B.C. According to the tradition, on a certain voyage a Corinthian crew determined to kill him and seize his wealth, but accepted his counter proposition that he be allowed to sing once more to his lyre and then throw himself into the sea. The music attracted a number of dolphins, and on the back of one of these he made his way safely to land. **illi Neptunii**: Oenomaus, king of Pisa in Elis, had been warned by an oracle that he would be killed by his son-in-law. In order, therefore, to prevent the marriage of his daughter Hippodamia, he made the rule that suitors for her hand must compete with him in a chariot race and forfeit their lives if they were beaten. According to one tradition Pelops won the race and his bride through the aid of winged steeds supplied by Neptune.

Page 83. **1. suspensos**: *buoyant.* For the plural *currus*, *cf.* p. 63. 10, note. This unidentified poetic phrase is somewhat analogous to Vergil, *Aen.* i. 156: *flectit equos curruque volans dat lora secundo.*

2. omnem omittat is timorem: the apodosis of *si . . . dixerit*, p. 82. 29 ff.

4. quo: *cf. eodem*, p. 6. 29, note.

6. Haec fere: *this (is) about what*, etc.

8. biduo: for the setting of the dialogue, see Introd. § 19.

10. ad clepsydram: *sc. declamabimus.* The water-clock was used to regulate the length of speeches both in the law courts and in practice speaking, as here. For the force of *ad*, *cf. ad tibicinem*, p. 2. 16, note.

11. hoc . . . non posse deberi: *i.e. that I must keep my word; cf. ad Att.* iv. 2. 2: *oratio . . . deberi non potest* (*i.e.* 'cannot be withheld').

12. illud . . . hoc: *i.e.* oratory and philosophy.

13. eodem tempore: *i.e.* at the same time as usual, namely, *in the afternoon*; *cf.* p. 57. 26.

BOOK V

Page 84. **1. Quintus hic dies**: see Introd. § 19. **Brute**: *cf.* p. 54. 3, note.

2. re: *thesis.*

4. ad me . . . scripsisti: *wrote (and sent) to me; cf.* p. 1. 3, note.

6. ad beate vivendum: to point out the way to the happy life was Cicero's aim in undertaking the *Tusculan Disputations; cf.* Introd. § 22. Here in the last book he reaches a climax in the inspiring thesis that virtue is the only thing essential to such a life.

8. elaborandum: *cf. elaborarent*, p. 1. 13, note.

9. quo: see the grammatical references in the note on p. 72. 26.

10. quod gravius, etc.: *which is enunciated in a higher and more splendid strain.*

11. ea causa: *this motive*, explained by the *ut*-clause of line 12 ff. Cicero seems for the moment to forget that the attention of the earlier Greek philosophers was centered upon the question of the nature of things rather than upon ethical problems (*cf.* Introd. § 5).

15. quodsi, etc.: the reason for the use of *Nam* (line 11) does not become obvious until these concluding clauses of the sentence are reached. **inventa et perfecta virtus est**: *the conception of virtue was hit upon and wrought out* (as the solution of the problem of the happy life).

16. praesidii: *provision.*

Page 85. **1. Sin autem**, etc.: *i.e.* if virtue after all is not a full and complete guarantee of happy living.

2. famula: *slave.*

3. virtutis: objective genitive. **fiducia**: for the case, see B. 218. 3, A. 431, G. 401. N. 6, H. 476. 3.

4. vota facienda: *i.e.* in the hope that fortune may not prove unkind.

5. videantur: the intrusion of this verb renders still more cautious a statement already sufficiently guarded by the use of *vereor ne* in line 3; *cf. videatur*, p. 23. 1, note. **Equidem**: *as for myself personally; cf. equidem*, p. 11. 30.

7. humani generis: *i.e. our human nature.*

9. dedisset . . . adiunxisset: for the sequence, see A. 585. *j*, G. 517. R. 1, H. 547. 1.

11. congruentis: accusative, *sympathizing.*

ex: *from the standpoint of.*

avunculus tuus: *i.e.* Marcus Porcius Cato; *cf.* p. 32. 16, n. He was the great-grandson of Cato the Elder, whom he resembled in austerity of life. The impression which he made on his contemporaries is reflected in the speech which Sallust puts into his mouth on the occasion of the trial of Catiline's accomplices; see *Bell.*

cadere in: *fall to the lot (of).*

augentes: governing both *venientia* and *praesentia* (line 21).

sinum: *embrace.* On Cicero's early study of philosophy, see Introd. § 2.

26. his gravissimis casibus: namely, the results of the civil war and the death of Tullia; *cf.* again Introd. § 2.

30. non modo: *cf. non modo*, p. 7. 14, note.

Page 86. **1. litterarum . . . communione**: *intercourse through writing*, etc. In this passage Cicero accepts the naïve view that in the primeval golden age of the world's history sages were in control, and that various fundamental institutions were deliberate inventions of individuals rather than the result of gradual development; *cf.* lines 17–18 below, and p. 27. 9 ff.

4. magna ex parte: *to a considerable extent.* **penitus totosque**: *cf.* however Introd. § 17 fin.

5. ex: *in accordance with.*

6. peccanti inmortalitati: *i.e.* an endless but faulty life.

9. Ac . . . quidem: marking a contrast, *and yet indeed.* **tantum abest ut . . . ut**: see the grammatical references in the note on p. 33. 15.

10. proinde ac, etc.: *in a degree commensurate with her services to human life.*

14. etiamsi minus: *cf. si minus*, p. 13. 7, note. **percipere**: *comprehend.*

17. primis: with *quibus.*

19. Quam rem: *i.e.* philosophy itself.

20. Nam, etc.: developing the thought of the first clause of the preceding sentence. **sapientiam**: here in the sense of 'wisdom' simply, not as at p. 61. 16.

25. illos septem: the Seven Sages of Greece, namely, Cleobulus, Periander, Pittacus, Bias, Thales, Chilon, and Solon. These all lived *in the* period from 620 to 550 B.C.

27. saeculis: *generations.* **Lycurgum**: the famous lawgiver of the Spartans, perhaps of the ninth century B.C.

28. iam heroicis aetatibus: *as far back as the heroic age.*

31. adfixus Caucaso: see p. 63. 26, note. **stellatus**: *given a setting of stars, i.e.* placed in the heavens as a constellation. Cepheus, king of Aethiopia, was the husband of Cassiopeia and the father of Andromeda. Because Andromeda's beauty was rashly praised by her mother as surpassing that of the Nereids, it became necessary to offer Andromeda as a sacrifice to a sea-monster sent by Poseidon to ravage the country. She was rescued by Perseus, whom she married.

32. nisi, etc.: *i.e.* these traditions can be accounted for only on the supposition that the persons concerned had shown a noteworthy interest in the problems of astronomy (which was one of the earliest fields of philosophical investigation; *cf.* Introd. § 5). **caelestium**: neuter.

Page 87. **1. divina**: *godlike.* **ad errorem fabulae**: *into the unhistorical realm of fable.*

2. A quibus ducti: *beginning with these.*

4. Pythagorae . . . aetatem: *i.e.* about 525 B.C. For Pythagoras, see Introd. § 5 *a.*

6. Heraclides: *cf.* Introd. § 14. **Phliuntem**: the name of a city in the Peloponnesus. The nominative is *Phlius.*

7. eumque: carrying on *quem* (line 5); *cf. Neque te*, etc., p. 46. 30, note.

9. quaesivisse ex eo: *i.e.* Leon asked Pythagoras. The wording of the sentence is somewhat awkward.

10. qua maxime arte confideret: *i.e.* what his profession was.

12. quinam: *what in the world; cf. quem*, p. 23. 5, note.

15. mercatum: *festival assemblage.*

16. celebritate: *with a large attendance* (*from*), a second ablative of attendant circumstance.

17. nobilitatem: *distinction; cf. nobilissimo*, p. 2. 25, note. For the esteem in which an Olympic victory was held, see pp. 49. 15 ff., and 71. 23 ff.

19. ducerentur: *were attracted* (*thither*).

20. idque: *cf. iisque*, p. 14. 14, note. **vel maxime**: *cf. vel*, p. 23. 15, note. **ingenuum**: *select.*

22. item: correlative with *ut* (line 16). **quasi . . . sic**: *cf. tamquam . . . sic, p. 32. 23.*

23. celebritatem: *throng.*

24. ex alia vita et natura: an incidental reference to the doctrine of transmigration of souls; *cf.* Introd. § 5 *a*. **alios . . . alios**: in partitive apposition with *nos* (line 22); *cf. alii . . . alii . . . alii*, p. 9. 29 ff.

25. ceteris omnibus: neuter.

27. se: object of *appellare*. **sapientiae studiosos**: *cf. studio sapientiae*, p. 1. 7, note. **id est enim philosophos**: *for that is the meaning of 'philosophers,'* a parenthetical remark of Cicero's, yet continuing the accusative of the indirect discourse in which the parenthesis stands.

28. liberalissimum: *i.e. a mark of the greatest refinement; cf. ingenuum*, line 20. **sibi**: *for one's self; cf.* B. 244. II. 3, A. 301. *e*, G. 531. R. 3, H. 503. 3.

29. omnibus: *all (other)*. The sentiment here expressed reflects the aims and ideals of the early period of Greek philosophy; *cf.* Introd. § 5. For Cicero's own feeling on the point, see also Introd. §§ 6 and 23, and *cf. ad Fam.* xv. 4. 16.

31. rerum . . . amplificator: *i.e. a contributor to practical results also.* The following sentence is a comment on this phrase.

Page 88. **2. Magna**: *cf. Magnam . . . Graeciam*, p. 17. 22, note. **et privatim et publice**, etc.: *i.e.* his instruction touched both individual lives and the life of communities.

3. disciplina: *system.*

4. fuerit: for the tense, *cf. videro*, p. 65. 2, note.

6. Anaxagorae: *cf.* p. 127. 8, note, and p. 46. 9. Both Anaxagoras and his pupil Archelaus are called *physicus*, a tribute to their interest in natural science; *cf.* Introd. § 5. **audierat**: *i.e. had attended the lectures of.* The noun *auditor* has a parallel use; *cf.* p. 4. 23, note. **numeri**, etc.: *cf.* again Introd. § 5, especially § 5 *a*.

7. motus: *laws of motion.* **orerentur**: *cf. orerentur*, p. 11. 13, note. **quove**: for the use of the disjunctive, *cf. aut*, p. 8. 28, note.

8. iis: *i.e.* the philosophers of that day. **siderum**: *heavenly bodies;* for the term includes the sun, moon, and planets, as well as the fixed stars. **magnitudines**: for this plural and *intervalla, cf. cantibus*, p. 2. 30, note. Considering the lack of appliances for investigation, some of the ancients had tolerably correct notions con-

cerning the size and distance from the earth (*intervalla*) of the heavenly bodies; *cf.* p. 21. 10, note.

10. primus: the marked emphasis which Socrates placed upon problems of practical ethics caused him to be regarded as a pioneer in that field (*cf.* Introd. § 6); but that this subject had not been altogether neglected before his time appears even from what is said above of Pythagoras (line 1 ff.).

13. rerum: *subject matter.*

14. ingenii magnitudo: *cf. aliqua vi morbi*, p. 21. 16, note. **Platonis memoria et litteris consecrata**: *immortalized by the recorded recollections of Plato.*

15. plura genera . . . philosophorum: see Introd. § 7. For *plura*, cf. *pluris*, p. 19. 4, note.

16. id: as though *genera philosophandi* rather than *genera philosophorum* had preceded. **potissimum**: see p. 19. 16, note fin.

17. ut . . . tegeremus, etc.: *cf. ut velimus*, p. 20. 19, note. **ipsi**: for the case, *cf. ipse*, p. 12. 26, note. **sententiam tegeremus**: on the *εἰρωνεία* of Socrates, see p. 44. 11, note fin.

19. simillimum veri: see Introd. § 15. As a matter of fact Socrates' method of discussion by no means proves that he thought the human mind unable to reach beyond the *veri simillimum*, nor yet that he himself lacked definite convictions on many topics. And though Cicero, speaking as a professed adherent of the New Academy, is prone to justify the basal tenet of that school by claiming for that tenet the warrant of Socrates' approval (*cf.* p. 4. 18 ff.), such a statement as is found at p. 44. 9 ff. would seem to show that he did not really as a matter of fact thus read his Plato.

20. Carneades: see Introd. § 15.

21. fecimus . . . ut . . . disputaremus: hardly more than *disputavimus; cf. de Senectute* 12. 42: *invitus feci ut . . . T. Flaminini fratrem . . . e senatu eicerem.* **alias**: the adverb. **Tusculano**: *sc. praedio.* On the setting of the *Tusculan Disputations*, see Introd. § 19. **ad eam consuetudinem**: *in that way.* For the fact, *cf.* p. 4. 17, note fin.

24. eodem in loco: *i.e.* in the *Academia*, the lower gymnasium; *cf. Academiam*, p. 57. 26, note.

28. Bruto meo videtur: *cf.* p. 84. 2 ff.

29. pace tua dixerim: *I would speak without offense*, a parenthetical phrase.

30. nec: *i.e. nec tamen; cf.* neque, p. 22. 27.

31. ames: *esteem.* **sed hoc, quod mihi dixi videri, quale sit**: *but the validity of the view for which I have become sponsor.* By prolepsis *hoc* becomes a subject of *agitur* (line 30); *cf. id quale sit*, p. 23. 10. For the rendering of the indirect question, *cf. quod ipsum quale esset*, p. 10. 20, note. **de quo**: *(and) concerning which.* The omission of a connective between two relative clauses is not infrequent; *cf.* p. 27. 7.

Page 89. **1. Nempe negas**, etc.: *you mean to deny then . . . ?*

4. Quid? *cf. Quid*, p. 8. 3, note. **postremo**: *in fine.*

9. Quidni possim? *of course I can;* lit. *why should I not be able?* For the subjunctive, *cf. curet*, p. 40. 32, note.

10. et ob eam rem: *cf. ob eamque rem*, p. 29. 9, note.

11. quid nunc dicam 'bene': *in what sense I am now using the term 'bene.'* *Cf.* the use of two accusatives with *habere*, p. 41. 1, note. For the literal force of *dicam*, *cf. dicis*, p. 6. 24, note.

12. graviter: *with dignity.* **Haec**: *i.e.* these qualities; *cf.* the use of the neuter *illa*, p. 3. 29, note.

13. in eculeum coiciuntur: *i.e.* do not desert us when we are placed on the rack. The rack and the bull of Phalaris (p. 61. 5, note) are frequently used to typify extreme torment. The name *eculeus* (diminutive of *equus*) indicates the shape of one style of rack; *cf. rotam*, p. 94. 12. **quo**: *toward which; cf. eodem*, p. 6. 29, note, and *quo* (*pervenerimus*), p. 20. 24, note. **non adspirat**: *has no leaning.*

14. Quid igitur? *but consider; cf.* again *Quid*, p. 8. 3, note.

17. nec . . . nec: see p. 26. 20, note.

19. si quid es facturus: *i.e.* if any progress is to be made in the discussion. **nova aliqua**: *sc. argumenta.*

22. nihil valent in aqua: in general, wine was diluted before drinking.

23. magis . . . delectant: *i.e.* their flavor is better than their drinking qualities; in other words, they are specious rather than convincing. **Velut**: *cf. velut*, p. 54. 14.

25. cum amplissima dignitate: the phrase modifies *imagines* (line 24); *cf. tempus . . . post mortem*, p. 8. 31, note. **ut**: introducing a clause of result. **perrectura**: the subject of the sentence (*beata vita*) is somewhat irregularly postponed to the following clause.

***26.* a se desertas**: (*to*) *lack its company.* **passura**: *likely to allow.*

28. hoc nudum: *this simple (question).*

29. quam diu: *so long as.*

32. nulla virtus prudentia vacat: *cf. sine qua*, etc., p. 67. 21, note.

Page 90. **1. ipsa**: she being in a sense the most important and fundamental of all the virtues; *cf.* again p. 67. 21, note.

2. M. Atilio: *sc. Regulo*, a hero of the first Punic war, who fell into the hands of the Carthaginians and was sent by them to Rome to urge his countrymen to arrange an exchange of prisoners. Not thinking the exchange advisable, he argued against it before the senate, and the proposal was rejected. In fulfilment of his sworn promise Regulus accordingly returned to Africa, and tradition has it that he was there put to death with fiendish torture. **Q. Caepione**: defeated in 105 B.C. by the Cimbri. Later he was accused of having robbed a temple during the war, and convicted on this charge he died in exile. **M'. Aquilio**: captured by Mithridates in 88 B.C. and killed by having molten gold poured down his throat.

5. negat: *cf. negabas*, p. 6. 30, note.

7. isto: see p. 6. 15, note.

9. superioribus diebus: it being now the fifth afternoon; *cf.* p. 88. 22 ff., and Introd. § 19. From what follows it appears that the speaker is thinking particularly of the discussion recorded in Books iii and iv; *cf.* line 15, note.

11. Actum vero, etc.: *yes indeed, quite a little in fact.*

12. profligata: *settled; cf.* the use of the word to describe a war whose issue is decided.

15. Quia: *cf.* p. 8. 10, note. At this point Cicero sums up what he has tried to show in Books iii and iv, which are not included in this edition. In those books he champions the Stoic view that mental disturbances (*perturbationes*), which make impossible peace of mind (*i.e.* the happy life), arise from a mistaken view regarding good and evil, *i.e.* from a failure to realize that virtue is the only real good, and the reverse the only real evil (*cf.* Introd. § 10): (these disturbed mental states are four in number, namely, *metus*, *aegritudo*, *libido*, and *laetitia gestiens*, the two first named being induced by a supposed evil in the future and the present respectively, the other two by a supposed good in the same time-realms): the Stoic *sapiens* (p. 9. 21, note) falls into no such error of judgment; for in him is perfecta mens or absoluta *ratio*. Therefore, says Cicero here, if the sapiens through absoluta

ratio (= *virtus*; *cf.* p. 99. 20) attains to a calm which nothing can disturb, it follows that *virtus* is the sole prerequisite for the happy life. **motus turbulenti iactationesque . . . rationem omnem repellentes**: a periphrasis for *perturbationes*, for which term see the previous note on this line.

16. impetu inconsiderato: *ill-advised emotion.*

18. metuens: the *perturbationes* are now taken up separately, beginning with *metus*; then follow *aegritudo* (line 24), *libido* (line 28), and *laetitia gestiens* (line 32).

19. alterum . . . alterum: for the use of the neuter, *cf. illa*, p. 3. 29.

20. idem: *cf. eadem*, p. 28. 8, note. An indefinite subject is to be supplied from the preceding sentence (*cf. quisquam*, line 24). **quod**: *i.e. id quod.*

22. quod: *cf. quod* in line 20. **non . . . sed**: approaching the force of *non modo . . . sed*; *cf.* p. 7. 14, note. The turn of phrase at this point was doubtless suggested by the thought of Caesar's despotic rule; *cf.* Introd. § 2.

24. Quid, qui: *what of the man who . . . ? cf.* the more common *quid, quod* (see p. 21. 21, and the note there).

26. eodem: *to the same total*; *cf. eodem*, p. 6. 29, note, and *quo* (*pervenerimus*), p. 20. 24, note.

27. aegritudine: this word refers to mental rather than to physical distress, though, of course, the latter may be the occasion of the former; *cf.* line 15, note.

28. Quid vero? *further*; *cf. Quid*, line 32, and p. 8. 3, note.

30. quo . . . eo: ablatives of degree of difference.

Page 91. 5. languidis: so designated because of the effect they produce; *cf. cogitationibus mollissimis*, p. 42. 9. **liquefaciunt**: *cf. liquescimus fluimusque*, p. 77. 13, and the note there.

6. tranquillitas intellegitur: the force of the phrase is practically the same as that of Caesar's *tranquillitas exstitit*, *B.G.* iii. 15; *cf.* the use of *cernitur* in line 8. In Cicero's philosophical writings verbs of perception are frequently employed in this somewhat colorless sense; *cf. spectatur*, *de Off.* i. 28. 98.

7. ne . . . quidem: see p. 28. 32, note. The ablative absolute at this point balances the *cum*-clause of line 9.

10. est, qui: *cf.* the more familiar *sunt qui* (and subjunctive). ***cuique***: for the position of the word in the sentence, *cf.* ***quisque***, p. 19. *10, note.*

11. ex quo: *as a result of which (view)*.

12. angor: *i.e. aegritudo.* **idem**: *cf.* the use of *idem*, p. 90. 20, and note *is* in line 13. The presence of the subjunctive in this clause is perhaps due to the influence of the mood in the characteristic clause which precedes.

14. virtute efficiuntur: *cf.* p. 90. 15, note. **quid est, cur**: *i.e. what reason is there for supposing that; cf. nihil necessitatis . . . cur*, p. 35. 14, note.

15. beatos: predicate adjective. An indefinite object (*e.g. homines*) is to be understood with *efficiat*.

16. Atqui: *and yet. Auditor* speaks reflectively. He has not before realized the bearing on the question now at issue of the discussions reported in Books iii and iv (*cf.* p. 90. 15, note). **quin . . . beati sint**: expanding *alterum*. The form of the phrase is determined by *dici non potest*, possibly through a remote analogy to the use of a *quin*-clause with *non dubitare; cf. de Off.* iii. 2. 9: *alterum dubitari non potest, quin*, etc.

18. impotenti: *unbounded, unrestrained; lit. that lacks control (over itself)*.

19. iam integrum non est: *is no longer open for discussion.* In cases like this the fundamental meaning of *integer* ('untouched') may still clearly be felt, but the translation varies with the context, *e.g.* 'open (question),' 'unprejudiced (case),' etc.

25. mos: *method.*

26. geometrae: the nominative singular is *geometres.*

27. ad eam rem: *to the matter in hand.* **eorum**: partitive genitive with *quid.*

28. sumunt pro: *assume as.*

29. modo: *i.e. solum.*

31. in eam . . . omnia: *upon this they bring to bear everything that applies.*

32. cur . . . multa diceret: *cf. Quid curet autem*, p. 40. 32, note; here, however, the phrase is contrary to fact as well. Being of negative import, the question might be paraphrased *Stoico . . . admodum pauca dicenda essent.*

Page 92. 1. esset quaesitum: for the sequence, see grammatical references in the note on p. 5. 5.

2. satis esset: continuing the contrary to fact construction of the preceding sentence.

3. honestum: *cf. honestum*, p. 67. 7, note.

4. consequens esse: *it logically followed (that)*.

5. sit: by a careless shift the secondary sequence is abandoned at this point.

6. sic illud huic: *so vice versa*. The framing of propositions which work both ways is characteristic of Stoic argument; *cf. de Fin.* v. 28. 83, and *de Div.* i. 6. 10. **ut**: introducing a clause of result.

7. nisi . . . quod: *excepting what*.

9. ex eo: *i.e.* from (their view regarding) the *summum bonum*.

11. hoc agunt: *they treat this topic*.

12. suis: see grammatical references in the note on p. 10. 27.

14. clariorem: *i.e.* than the principle that virtue is a sufficient basis for the happy life.

17. paruisset . . . esset, etc.: another violation of the rule of sequence, perhaps due in this case to a lingering reminiscence of *emissam*, line 14.

18. omnia praesidia . . . bene . . . vivendi: *cf. praesidii ad beate vivendum . . . satis*, p. 84. 16.

20. videro: *cf. mox videro*, p. 65. 2, note.

21. quod: *that*, introducing a substantive clause; *cf. quod*, p. 2. 25, note. **Nam**, etc.: *i.e.* for there is no other road to happiness —even the king of Persia (*cf.* p. 98. 6, note), with all the resources at his command, could not find contentment.

24. proposuit: *offered; sc. ei.*

25. ipsa: *even; cf. ipsa*, p. 54. 10.

26. inueniet: an example of the rather rare gnomic future. **vellem . . . possemus**: less exclamatory than *utinam . . . possemus* would have been.

27. elicere: *bring to light; sc. eum.* **attulisset**: this tense is perhaps chosen under the influence of *qui invenisset* in line 24. But here (purpose clause) the imperfect would seem to be the tense required. **hoc**: *i.e.* the thesis which the speaker would establish in this book.

31. ut: introducing a clause of result.

Page 93. **3. Aristo et Antiocho**: two brothers, teachers of Cicero and Brutus; see Introd. § 15 fin. **putat enim**: *sc. vitam beatam virtute confici.* Touching the question of the *summum bonum*, Brutus accepted the view that there are three kinds of good, namely, *bona animi* (*i.e. virtus*), bona corporis, and bona fortunae, the first class being by far the most important; cf. Introd. § 14.

5. Quid igitur? *how then? cf. Quid*, p. 8. 3, note.

6. Tu vero: *sc. fac.* **nam praefinire**, etc.: *Auditor* seems here to have in mind Cicero's protest at p. 90. 7 ff. **meum**: see A. 343. c. N. 2, G. 366. R. 3, H. 439. 4, and *cf.* B. 198. 3.

7. cuique . . . consentaneum: *consistent for each; i.e.* what conclusion regarding virtue and the happy life each sect may reach logically (*i.e.* without doing violence to its own tenet touching the nature of the *summum bonum*). **alio loco**: *sc. disseram*, a promise fulfilled at p. 116. 5 ff. At the present moment Cicero is full of the Stoic inspiration carried on from Books iii and iv (*cf.* p. 90. 15, note), and he postpones a non-partisan discussion of his theme until he has rounded out the matter as the Stoics saw it.

8. cum Antiocho saepe: *i.e.* during Cicero's young manhood, when he went abroad for his health and for further study; *cf.* Introd. § 2. **cum Aristo nuper**, etc.: *i.e.* in 51–50 B.C., on Cicero's way to and from the administration of the province of Cilicia; *cf.* p. 17. 7, note.

9. imperator: after a successful attack upon some wild mountaineers on the borders of Cilicia, Cicero was greeted with this title by his soldiers. This fact encouraged him to hope that the senate would vote him a triumph for the trivial victory. Arriving in Italy just as the storm of civil war was about to break, he found that his claims received but scant attention; yet for months he did not abandon hope, journeying about with his lictors and avoiding Rome, since entry into the city would entail the loss of his *imperium* and the possible triumph.

11. autem: *cf.* the use of *autem*, p. 34. 24. **sapientem**: *i.e.* the *sapiens* of the Old Academy; *cf.* the note on *sapientis*, p. 9. 21. Note the use of the accusative here, though *videbatur* in line 10 is (as usual) personal; *cf. post epulatos*, p. 50. 24, note.

14. pluribus: *cf. pluris*, p. 19. 4, note.

16. ut vires: *as, for example, strength; i.e.* no one hesitates to call a vigorous person 'strong,' even though he falls short of the ideal in some particular.

18. genere, non numero cernerentur: *are judged on the basis of quality rather than of amount.* Thus, for instance, men are classed as 'weak' and 'strong,' the latter division including many who fall short of perfect strength; *cf.* line 16, note. For the use of *numero* here, *cf.* the common *numerus frumenti.*

19. ex aliqua parte: *i.e. in some particular*; cf. such expressions

as *a tergo*. **clauderet**: *it halts* (*cf. claudus*); not to be confused with *claudere*, 'close.' *Cf. de Off.* i. 33. 119: *nec in ullo officio claudicare.*

20. obtinere: *make good; cf. obtinebis*, p. 13. 8.

21. non ita necesse est: *is not so very necessary.* Cicero does not feel constrained here to meet these arguments fully, because they are merely subsidiary to the more fundamental and basal doctrine of threefold good (*i.e. bona animi* or *virtus*, *bona corporis*, and *bona fortunae*). Upon this latter dogma he trains his heavy artillery repeatedly as he proceeds to set forth the Stoic argument (*cf.* line 7, note fin.), being moved to this course perhaps by the realization that to admit the existence of any good excepting *virtus* alone was to shatter the very logical and self-consistent system of the Stoics (*cf. de Fin.* v. 28. 83). This polemical attitude, however, fits ill with the purpose of the book as a whole, and sadly mars its unity; *cf.* Introd. § 21. **non constantissime**: *with not the best of logic.*

22. et: correlative with *et* in line 24.

23. ut sit beatior: *to make him happier.* **si est enim**, etc.: in this passing rejoinder (lines 21–30) Cicero makes no attempt to treat adequately either of the arguments advanced by Antiochus. Thus here he baldly rejects the first of these arguments (lines 14–15) and begs the whole question by falling back on the Stoic doctrine that there is no possibility of degrees of happiness in the *vita beata* — a dogma which rests on the assumptions that virtue (the only good) is absolute, *i.e.* incapable of increase; that a man either possesses it wholly or not at all (*cf.* p. 67. 20, note); and that all who possess it are, therefore, equally and perfectly happy; *cf. de Fin.* v. 28. 83.

24. quod: *as for the fact that*, a use of the word frequently found in Cicero's correspondence.

25. spectari: *rated.* **dicunt**: namely, the sponsors of the second argument advanced by Antiochus (line 15 ff.). **est ubi id . . . valeat**: *there are cases where this* (*principle*) *thus applies; cf. nec invenietur . . . unde*, etc., p. 29. 4, note.

28. oppressum . . . et confectum: *sc. sit.*

29. huic paulumne, etc.: disregarding the fact that Antiochus would say that *bona corporis* and *bona fortunae* are not worthy to be compared with *bona animi; cf.* the beautiful simile in *de Fin.* v. 24. 71: *Illa enim, quae sunt a nobis bona corporis numerata, complent ea quidem beatissimam vitam, sed ita, ut sine illis possit beata vita exsistere. Ita enim parvae* et exiguae sunt istae accessiones *bonorum,*

ut, quem ad modum stellae in radiis solis, sic istae in virtutum splendore ne cernantur quidem.

30. non modo: *cf. non modo*, p. 40. 27, and the note there. This clause is appended rather contemptuously; for, from the Stoic point of view, there is no such thing as a *vita beatissima* (as contrasted with the *vita beata*). See the note on line 23.

31. Hoc: *i.e.* the claim that virtue is a sufficient basis for the happy life, even though other classes of good are to be recognized (*cf.* line 10 ff.). **Theophrastus**: Aristotle's successor as head of the Peripatetic School; *cf.* Introd. § 9. **sustinere**: *uphold.*

Page 94. **2. elate et ample**: *in a high-flown and lofty strain.*

3. cum humiliter, etc.: *while his thought was on a prosaic and commonplace level.* This clause is practically an exegesis of *cum statuisset*, etc., p. 93. 32 ff.

4. Itaque, etc.: *solet* and *concesseris* (*cf.* p. 38. 22, note) mark this as a statement of general application, though strict logic would demand that *Itaque* introduce a remark setting forth Cicero's attitude in this particular case.

6. prima: *the premises.* **elegantissimus**: *cf. eleganter*, p. 24. 25, note.

9. primum: the second instance is taken up at line 18 (*Vexatur idem Theophrastus*, etc.). **in**: *in regard to; cf. in*, p. 38. 32.

12. rotam: *the rack; cf. eculeum*, p. 89. 13, note.

13. omnino: *outright.*

18. idem: in translating, bear in mind the note on line 9. **scholis**: *cf. scholas*, p. 4. 7, note.

19. Callisthene: Theophrastus composed a work entitled Καλλισθένης ἢ περὶ Πένθους as a tribute to the memory of Callisthenes, a writer of history, and a friend and companion of Alexander the Great. Callisthenes' independent attitude had caused him to fall into disfavor with that tyrant, and he had died in prison under suspicious circumstances.

21. Vitam, etc.: iambic trimeter. For the sentiment expressed, *cf.* Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* 8: *Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur.*

22. Negant: *cf. negabas*, p. 6. 30, note.

25. nonne consentaneum est: *does it not logically follow (that).*

28. qui multa, etc.: *i.e.* who (in spite of the ground principle of his system) often draws many a fine conclusion (thus affording a contrast to Theophrastus, who was at least consistent).

29. quam: see p. 14. 10, note.

30. non laborat: *is not concerned.*

31. id quidem: *sc. est, Philosophi* being a predicate genitive. **Antisthenes**: founder of the Cynic School; *cf.* p. 46. 4, note.

Page 95. **1. finem bonorum**: *i.e. summum bonum.*

3. idem: *cf. eadem*, p. 28. 8, note.

4. nisi . . . ad voluptatem referret: *did he not refer to the standard of pleasure.* Epicurus held that we should forego a lower pleasure to gain a higher, so that even virtuous action thus finds its main-spring in the desire for pleasure. Cicero intends at this point, however, that the reader shall see in *voluptatem* only the lower meaning (*cf.* Introd. § 12); but later (p. 117. 28 ff.) Epicurus' view is more fairly set forth.

5. Quid melius quam, etc.: *i.e. what is better than his assertion that*, etc.

6. exiguam intervenire: *troubles little.* For the rendering of an adjective by an adverb, *cf. sola*, p. 29. 4, note.

8. toto corpore: for the construction, see B. 228. 1. *b*, A. 429. 2, G. 388, H. 485. 2.

11. Metrodorus: Epicurus' most distinguished pupil; *cf.* Introd. § 13. **Occupavi**: *I have forestalled.*

12. cepi: *I have caught.* **ad me adspirare**: *have designs on me; cf. non adspirat*, p. 89. 13, note.

13. posses: either the imperfect or the present might stand here. The latter tense would be less mechanical. **Aristo**: a pupil of Zeno; *cf.* Introd. § 11. **Stoicus**: in this connection it would seem hardly necessary to specify which Zeno is meant. For another philosopher of the same name, *cf.* p. 77. 3.

15. visceribus medullisque: *i.e. corpore.* The phrase is contemptuous.

17. explorata . . . spe: *cf.* the similar phrase at p. 60. 30–31. **eius**: *of the same.* **contineri**: *consists* (*in*).

18. isto: *cf. ista*, p. 5. 25, note, and *isto modo*, p. 6. 15, note.

19. iam: *at any moment; cf. iam iamque*, p. 8. 6. **potes**: *cf. possum*, p. 31. 2, note. **capiuntur**: *are caught; cf. capior*, p. 66. 18.

20. istorum hominum . . . multitudo: *cf.* Introd. § 3.

22. disputantis: for the case, cf. Philosophi, p. 94. 31.

23. quid cuique dicendum sit: i.e. what conclusions each is

justified in drawing in view of the premises which he postulates. **Velut**: *cf. velut*, p. 54. 14. Cicero finds an example of perfect consistency close at hand, namely, in the Stoic argument in favor of the very thesis (*ea ipsa sententia*) which he has undertaken to prove (*suscepimus*). Grammatically *Velut* belongs only with the sentence in which it stands, but the illustration extends to p. 96. 1. **in**: *cf. in*, p. 13. 25.

25. volumus: *cf. voluit*, p. 10. 26, note. The use here of the first person plural, identifying the speaker with the Stoics, is but an incidental token of the partisan and unfair spirit by which the unity of this book is marred (*cf.* the note on p. 93. 21). Note below, in lines 28 ff., how the definition of happiness is drawn to suit Stoic theory, quite begging the whole question at issue so far as other schools are concerned (*cf. si est enim*, p. 93. 23, note). **Quos dicam bonos**: see p. 89. 11, note.

28. Equidem: see p. 11. 30, note.

29. bonis: neuter.

30. subiecta . . . est: *cf. subicitur*, p. 38. 14, note.

Page 96. **2. turba quaedam**: *a sort of mob; cf. intentionem quandam*, p. 10. 16. **ignobilitas, humilitas**: *obscurity, lowly station.* With *ignobilitas cf. nobilissimo*, p. 2. 25, note.

3. suorum: *one's relatives; cf. sibi*, p. 87. 28, note.

5. in his, etc.: *in these* (*distresses*) *so numerous and troublesome.* The suppression of *malis* (with *his*) is due to the fact that, from the Stoic point of view, the word would be a misnomer.

6. possunt accidere: *are possible.* **potest**: *cf.* again *possum*, p. 31. 2, note.

8. At si: *now if*, adding a link in the chain of argument; *cf.* the use of *autem*, p. 34. 24, note. **praestare**: *guarantee.*

9. vel: *even.*

10. Non . . . neque . . . neque . . . nec: see the grammatical references in the note on p. 26. 20.

11. communibus magistris: namely, Antiochus and Aristus; *cf.* p. 93. 3 and 8, with the notes there.

12. Speusippo, Xenocrati, Polemoni: these, in the order named, were successors of Plato as presidents of the Academy; *cf.* Introd. § 14.

13. *idem*: *still*; *cf. idem*, p. 82. 5, note.

14. *titulus hic*: *this text* (namely, *semper beatum esse sapientem*).

15. dignissimus: *most appropriate (for)*.

16. inducant animum: *bring themselves.* This phrase governs the complementary infinitives *contemnere* and *ducere*, lines 18–19.

18. contemnere . . . pro nihilo ducere: *i.e.* no longer to consider them *bona* and *mala* respectively.

19. tum: *then, i.e.* after reaching this (Stoic) point of view. **clarissima voce**: because their claim will no longer expose them to the charge of inconsistency.

21. omniaque, etc.: *i.e.* that happiness is securely within their reach. **nec esse quicquam**, etc.: for virtue will then be the only good they recognize.

23. nunc: *but as the matter now stands*, contrasting the actual situation with the one pictured at line 19 ff. (*tum poterunt*, etc.). **haec**: *i.e. se neque fortunae impetu . . . terreri*, etc., line 19 ff. **et . . . loqui . . . et . . . numerare**: subject of *concedi nullo modo potest*, line 25. **cuiusdam**: *a.*

24. quae vulgus: *sc. in malis et bonis numerat.*

25. Qua gloria: *the splendor of this (sentiment); cf.* p. 4. 6, note.

26. si dis placet: *save the mark!* a not uncommon meaning of the phrase.

28. si ipse se audiret: *if he gave any heed to his own teachings.* On *ipse*, see p. 12. 26, note. With *audiret cf. audio*, p. 28. 16.

31. Quam hoc suave est: *cf.* p. 61. 6. For *Quam*, see p. 14. 10, note.

32. vocibus: *expressions.*

Page 97. **1. spectandi**: *i.e. iudicandi; cf. spectari*, p. 93. 25. **ex perpetuitate atque constantia**: *from their logic throughout.*

6. Quia: see p. 8. 10, note. **quartum**: *sc. librum.* **de finibus**: *sc. bonorum et malorum;* see Introd. § 17. In the fourth book of that treatise Cato Uticensis (p. 32. 16, note) is represented as upholding the Stoic doctrine of the *summum bonum*, while Cicero appears as the champion of the view of the Peripatetics and the Old Academy — the very view he has here been so relentlessly assailing.

9. verborum novitatem: *innovations in terminology, i.e.* on the part of the Stoics; *cf.* Introd. § 10.

10. quin: *why . . . not.* **rationi**: *system.*

14. tabellis obsignatis: *sealed documents* (introduced as evidence in the courts of law). **agis mecum**: lit. you deal with me.

The whole phrase may be rendered freely: *you are applying court-room methods to me.*

16. isto modo: *sc. licet agere.* **legibus impositis**: *i.e.* under bondage to basal principles to which they must be loyal at any cost; *cf.* p. 56. 10 ff. **in diem**: *by the day; lit. for the day.* This rejoinder of Cicero's is a somewhat technical subterfuge. It is true that, as a writer on philosophy, he found it convenient to represent himself as an adherent of the New Academy; but this does not mean that he as a matter of fact was in a state of mind devoid of all definite conviction and regard for consistency; *cf.* Introd. §§ 15–16.

18. Verum tamen, etc.: *i.e. Auditor's* criticism is not only unreasonable (*cf.* line 15 ff.), but out of order as well; for the real question under discussion is whether Zeno's view touching the *summum bonum* is consistent with the thesis that virtue is a sufficient basis for the happy life, the further question of the validity of Zeno's position in regard to the *summum bonum* being quite another matter. This line of defense is, if anything, weaker than the other; for were it not for the fact that the speaker himself keeps taking ground on the second of these two questions (*cf.* Introd. § 21), *Auditor* would have no occasion to introduce his troublesome criticism.

19. paulo ante: *i.e.* at p. 95. 22 ff.

20. verumne sit: *sc. id*, explained by *bonum esse solum*, etc., lines 21–22.

21. Aristoni: *cf.* Introd. § 11.

22. (si ita) esset . . . poneret: the tense here is due apparently to the influence of the words immediately preceding; for the condition is certainly not contrary to fact, and the sequence proper is primary (see line 20). Were it not for the influence of the intervening words, therefore, the sentence at this point would naturally run: *sed, si ita sit, tum (verumne sit) ut . . . ponat.* The *ut*-clause brings out another of the meanings of *verus* (namely 'logical'). Translate: *but if it so be, whether in that case it is logical for him to*, etc.

23. hoc beate vivere: *this matter of happy living.* This phrase is the object of *poneret.* **una**: *i.e. sola.* **Quare demus**, etc.: *i.e.* since nothing is to be gained by assailing the validity of his view touching the *summum bonum*, we will waive that point, and withdraw the protest against his claiming that the *sapiens* is always happy; but he must himself look out for the consistency of calling that life happy in which he admits that there is an admixture of evil. For the force of the subjunctive, *cf.* p. 29. 21, note fin.

24. sane: *cf. sane*, p. 59. 29, note. **ut sit**: for the brachylogy, *cf.* p. 9. 9, note, and contrast *ut . . . dicant*, p. 96. 12 ff.

25. quam: *cf.* p. 61. 6, note. **viderit**: see p. 11. 27, note. **gloria**: *credit.*

26. illo viro: for the construction, see p. 3. 4, note. As to Brutus' moral worth, *cf.* Introd. § 23. **teneamus ut**: *hold fast to the (claim) that; cf.* again p. 9. 9, note.

27. idem: *as well; cf. eadem*, p. 28. 8, note. The subject of this clause is *sapiens* (*cf.* line 24). **beatissimus**: this being the sense in which a Stoic is justified in using the term *beatus* (*cf.* p. 93. 23, note) — in contrast to E[illegible] have to understand *vita beata* in another way (*cf.* p. 95. 1[illegible]s to maintain the thesis under discussion and yet avoid a [illegible]is view touching the *summum bonum.*

28. Citieus: *of Citium* (a[illegible]Cyprus). **advena**: *outsider*, referring either to his place o[illegible]o his standing among philosophers; *cf. de Fin.* iv. 20. 56[illegible] is referred to slightingly as *ille Poenulus.* The whole phrase *c[illegible]ena quidam . . . opifex* is an integral part of the *videtur* construction rather than a parenthesis expressing Cicero's own feeling at this point. For he is here engaged in a distinctly pro-Stoic exposition; *cf.* p. 93. 7, note, and p. 95. 25, note. **ignobilis**: *cf. nobilissimo*, p. 2. 25, note.

29. verborum opifex: *cf. verborum novitatem*, line 9, note. **insinuasse se**, etc.: *i.e.* by appropriating established doctrines and dressing them up with new words.

30. huius sententiae: namely, that virtue is the only prerequisite for the (absolutely) happy life.

31. repetatur: *find its source (in).* **apud**: see p. 47. 14, note. **haec**: *cf. eam*, p. 18. 12, note. **usurpata est**: the passive of this verb helps to fill the gap caused by the fact that *utor* is deponent.

32. Velut: *cf. Velut*, p. 95. 23.

Page 98. **1. Gorgia**: a dialogue of Plato's in which Socrates is represented as meeting Gorgias of Leontini, a celebrated teacher of rhetoric. The quotation here is from 470 D ff. **Archelaum, Perdiccae**: kings of Macedonia, of whom the latter (the father) reigned from 454 to 413, the former from 413 to 399 B.C.

4. Ain tu? *how's that?* a common expression of surprise. **an**: *cf. An*, p. 5. 26, note; here the tone of voice is sufficient to give the force of the word.

6. Persarum . . . rege: in Greek and Latin literature often referred to as a type of perfect human happiness; *cf.* Plato, *Apology* 40 D ff., and also *de Senectute* 17. 59 fin. **magno**: somewhat redundant. In the original here, and occasionally elsewhere, the king of Persia is designated simply as ὁ μέγας βασιλεύς.

7. An ego possim: *cf. an* above (line 4). For the mood of the verb, see p. 40. 32, note.

11. Videturne: *cf. Videsne*, p. 77. 18, note.

12. Epitaphio: the word signifies 'funeral oration,' the reference here being to that part of Plato's *Menexenus* (namely, 247 E ff.) which purports to be the recitation by Socrates of a speech composed in the style of those funeral orations which were delivered at Athens at stated times by chosen speakers in memory of the soldiers who had fallen in battle fighting for their country. **idem**: *i.e.* Plato. For the phrasing at this point, *cf.* p. 43. 1, note.

13. cui viro, etc.: for the order of clauses in this sentence and the incorporation of the antecedent noun, see p. 17. 6, note fin., and *cf. Quam quisque norit artem*, etc., p. 19. 10. **ex se ipso apta**: *dependent on himself alone, i.e. under his control.* **omnia, quae ad beate vivendum ferunt**: the phrase in the original which is translated by these words is restricted by the addition of ἢ ἐγγὺς τούτου ('or nearly all'). Thus modified, Plato's statement offers no support for the Stoic doctrine Cicero would establish (*cf.* p. 97. 30, note); rather its implication that the good within a man's control (*i.e. virtus*) is not the *only* good, looks toward the Peripatetic doctrines which Cicero (speaking as a Stoic) so bitterly assails, namely, that there are three classes of good, and that while virtue is a sufficient basis for the *vita beata*, other things too are necessary to round out a perfectly happy life (*vita beatissima*); *cf.* p. 93. 3 ff., and the notes there.

14. nec suspensa: the extreme awkwardness of the wording at this point may be due to the desire to translate the original somewhat literally.

15. errare: *vacillate.*

19. praecepto illi veteri: *i.e.* οὐκ (μηδὲν) ἄγαν, a maxim which teaches the doctrine of the golden mean and looks toward a life of undisturbed calm. For the position of *illi*, cf. *ille*, p. 37. 4, note.

21. ipse: for the case, see p. 12. 26, note. **spem . . . sui**: *hope of well-being (i.e. happiness).*

22. quasi quodam: this elaborate qualification (cf. p. 13. 23, note) is *called forth by* the whole phrase sancto augustoque fonte.

The use of *fons* itself in a metaphorical sense is not unusual enough to demand qualification; *cf. fontis*, p. 3. 29.

26. animal: here with adjective force; *cf.* p. 24. 18. **quod . . . niteretur**: *i.e. vegetable.* Cicero had at his command no single word to balance *animal*.

29. altius: *very high; cf. serius*, p. 2. 11, note. **alia . . . alia**: *cf.* the example of partitive apposition at p. 9. 29 ff.

32. motu: *impulse.* **suis**: *the particular;* see grammatical references, p. 10. 27, note. **seminibus**: *elements.*

Page 99. **2. in omnibus**: *in every* (*particular*). **quantum in ipsis sit**: *i.e.* in so far a[illegible] on themselves, or rather, on their nature-given force; t[illegible] made clearer by the explanatory ablative absolute which [illegible] *Cf. de Nat. D.* ii. 13. 35: *in vite, . . . in pecude, nisi quae vis oost* [illegible] *videmus naturam suo quodam itinere ad ultimum pervenire.* For the mood of the verb of this clause, see note on *perfecta sint*, line 3. **vi** (*outside*) *force.*

3. perfecta sint: logically this verb is coördinate with *est* (p. 98. 31). The use of the subjunctive here and in the preceding clause is due to the influence of the intervening construction. **etiam**: with *Facilius.*

4. ipsius: *i.e. nulla vi impediente* (line 2).

6. serpentis: a participle used as an adjective.

7. partim: for the partitive genitive with this adverb, *cf.* the use of *satis* with the genitive.

10. suum tenens munus: *fulfilling its own function.*

11. manet in: *i.e. abides by.*

12. Et ut bestiis . . . datum est: *and as among the animals there is given by nature one gift to one, another to another.* Strictly, of course, *bestiis* is the indirect object of *datum est*, supplanted by *alii* as the sentence progresses. **praecipui**: partitive genitive, dependent on *aliud.*

14. multo quiddam praestantius: *sc. datum est.* **etsi**: *cf.* the use of *quamquam*, p. 2. 15, note. **praestantia**: with a thought of the literal force of the word, 'standing before'; *cf.* 'superior.' The speaker is dissatisfied with the term because it does not bring out clearly the fact that the things which he is contrasting differ in class as well as in degree.

15. habent . . . comparationem: *admit of . . . comparison; cf. levationem habeant*, p. 53. 18 ff.

16. decerptus ex mente divina: so the Pythagoreans had taught; *cf. de Senectute* 21. 78: *Audiebam Pythagoram Pythagoreosque . . . numquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus.*

19. acies: *vision; cf. aciem*, p. 23. 3. **ita . . . ut ne**: a rare correlation. The subjunctive which follows cannot be classified with certainty.

20. quod: *i.e. id quod.* For the thought of this clause, *cf. sine qua*, etc., p. 67. 21, and the note there.

22. virtutis: *i.e. perfectae mentis* (*cf.* lines 19–20).

24. Et hoc quidem, etc.: *and thus far I agree*, etc. Strictly, *hoc* is the subject of *convenit.*

25. Xenocrate, etc.: *cf.* p. 96. 12, note.

26. beatissimi: *cf. beatissimus*, p. 97. 27, note.

27. confidit suis bonis: *i.e.* is in secure possession of all that he holds good — a state attainable for the Stoic, for he recognizes only one class of good (*bona animi* = *virtus*), a possession which, once gained, cannot according to his view be lost; *cf.* p. 68. 3, note fin.

28. qui: *how; cf. Qui*, p. 33. 23. **At**: *cf. At*, p. 96. 8, note.

29. bona dividit tripertito: the Peripatetic procedure; *cf.* Introd. § 8.

30. confidere: *count on.* This verb commonly takes the ablative when things, rather than persons, are referred to.

32. istorum: *i.e.* of the things falling under the headings mentioned in lines 29–30. On the force of the pronoun, see *ista*, p. 5. 25, note. **ut**: introducing a loosely attached result clause. **Laconis**: *cf.* p. 49. 15, note.

Page 100. **1. in hos cadere**: *apply to them; cf.* the analogous use of the phrase at p. 85. 17.

2. maritimam: *touched by the sea.*

3. Non sane optabilis: *not so very desirable.* **ista**: *cf.* p 5. 25, note, and p. 6. 15, note.

4. rudentibus apta: *bound up with cordage, i.e.* dependent on so frail a thing.

9. Volumus: *cf. voluit*, p. 10. 26, note. On the use of the first person plural, see p. 95. 25, note. For the thought of this passage, see Synopsis, Bk. V.

13. parva metuit: *suffers somewhat from fear*, an example of the cognate accusative.

16. patiens: *steadfast.* **procul**: coördinate in sense with *patiens.* **Atque haec**, etc.: *and the case would certainly not stand thus, i.e.* the condition above described could never be realized.

18. Qui autem: *how, furthermore*, passing on to another subhead in the criticism of the Peripatetic view.

19. securitatem . . . nunc appello: *by 'securitas' I now mean; cf.* p. 89. 11, note.

24. qualem, etc.: a concise parenthesis. The full expression would be *id est talis, qualem*, etc.

25. sibi: *so far as he is concerned*; strictly, a dative of reference. **An Lacedaemonii**, etc.: *cf.* p. 15. 5, note fin. This turn in the argument seems designed to forestall the objection that the experiences ascribed by the Stoics to the *sapiens* (see above, and *cf. sapientis*, p. 9. 21, note) are purely fanciful and visionary.

27. num: not indicating the kind of answer looked for. In indirect questions *num* regularly has this noncommittal force.

28. quem quaerimus: *who is the subject of our investigation.* This phrase (with variations) is frequently thus used in Cicero's philosophical works; *cf. quod quaeris*, p. 110. 4, *quod quaerimus, de Off.* i. 31. 110, etc. **tali animo**: *lit. (to be) of such courage.*

29. Quid, etc.: the preceding sentence deflects the speaker's aim somewhat, and the remainder of this paragraph is devoted to a simple restatement of the Stoic argument (*cf.* p. 90. 15 ff.); see Synopsis, Bk. V.

31. sit: the use of the subjunctive mood is due to the causal shading of the clause.

32. ab aegritudine, etc.: for the four *perturbationes* recognized by the Stoics, see p. 90. 15, note.

Page 101. 1. vindicet: *emancipates.*

2. Haec: *i.e.* the state just described.

3. virtutem: *cf.* again p. 90. 15, note.

6. duplexque ratio . . . sit: *and the nature . . . is twofold.* **quod**: *in that; cf. Quia*, p. 8. 10, note.

7. in malis opinatis . . . versetur: *have to do with supposed evils, i.e.* are due to the fact that certain things (which really are not such) are supposed to be evils; *cf.* again p. 90. 15, note. The verb of this phrase is attracted to the mood of the verbs of the preceding clause, though strictly the remark seems parenthetical. **in bonorum . . . errore**; *with a mistaken judgment regarding the good*; another *way of saying in bonis opinatis.*

9. his . . . concitationibus: to be construed with *vacuum*, etc., line 11.

10. ipsis: for the case, *cf. ipse*, p. 12. 26, note.

12. Atqui: *cf. autem*, p. 34. 24, note.

14. Atque etiam: *and, further.* The style of argument to which Cicero now passes (*cf.* Synopsis, Bk. V) was much in favor with the Greeks. Properly used, it is a cogent and valid method of reasoning; but it often happens that clause is piled on clause without much attention to the individual steps by which the argument proceeds. Though known as *sorites* (or *acervus*), this method of reasoning is not to be confused with the fallacy of the same name (*cf.* Horace, *Ep.* ii. 1. 45 ff.).

17. honestum: *honorable, virtuous; cf. honestate*, line 20, and see *honestum*, p. 67. 7, note.

18. At: *cf.* the use of *autem*, p. 34. 24, note. The syllogism as a whole is: All good is virtuous; of the three *alleged* kinds of good *bona corporis* and *bona fortunae* are not virtuous; therefore virtue (*bona animi*) is the only good. **isti**: *i.e.* the Peripatetics; *cf. ista*, p. 5. 25, note.

19. numerant: *count* (*as*).

21. una: *i.e. sola.*

23. abundantem: *cf. iudicantem*, p. 40. 15, note.

27. si fuerit . . . iniustus, etc.: *i.e.* if he lacks virtue, or, more exactly, if he lacks the four cardinal virtues (*cf.* p. 28. 6, note fin.).

28. atque: *and* (*even*). **dubitabisne**: resuming *dubitas*, line 23. But the speaker takes advantage of the break in the *quin*-construction (line 27) to employ the verb here in its other sense; hence the infinitive construction which follows.

30. Videamus ne: *cf. Vide, ne*, p. 36. 13, note.

31. acervus: *e.g. frumenti.* **sui generis**: *homogeneous.*

32. partibus: *i.e. bonis.* **debeat**: *must; cf.* the use of the gerundive, p. 102. 1. **ex bonis, quae sola**: *i.e. ex eis bonis solis, quae.* For the incorporation of a part of the antecedent in the relative clause, *cf.* the more conventional example at p. 17. 6 ff.

Page 102. 1. beatum: *happiness, i.e.* the *vita beata*, the adjective being here used as a substantive. **Ea**: *sc. bona.* For the thought of this sentence see Synopsis, Bk. V.

3. Etenim, etc.: practically repeating p. 101. 14 ff. The subjoining of this argument here is rather untimely; for to push the Stoic claim *that virtue is the sole good* (see line 9), while trying to show on

other grounds (p. 101. 22 ff.) that *bona corporis* and *bona fortunae* are misnomers, looks very much like arguing in a circle.

6. adprobaris: for the mood, see p. 38. 22, note.

7. dignitas: *worth.*

8. omne: with *bonum.* **Ex quo efficitur, ut**, etc.: as shown by p. 101. 17 ff. For the brachylogy of expression, see p. 9. 9, note.

11. quamvis: *cf. Quamvis*, p. 22. 1.

13. nobilitatem: *cf.* again *nobilissimo*, p. 2. 25, note.

15. haec: referring forward.

16. candiduli: *shiny*, the diminutive being contemptuous.

17. color: *complexion.* **Anticlea**: the mother of Ulysses. Apparently a slip; for the quotation below is from the *Niptra* of Pacuvius (*cf.* p. 75. 26, note), and Anticlea was dead long before Ulysses' return home. Probably it is Euryclea, the nurse, who here bathes the feet of Ulysses; at any rate in Homer, *Od.* xix. 392, she is represented as performing a like service on another occasion.

19. Lenitudo, etc.: trochaic tetrameter catalectic.

20. gravitate: *profound judgment.*

21. volgi opinione: *cf.* p. 81. 13, note. **quod dicatur**: *which may (rightly) be called.*

22. At enim: *but, you will say*, forestalling a probable objection; *cf.* the use of *At*, p. 39. 24, note, and of *enim*, p. 6. 1, note. While holding that all things excepting virtue and its opposite are matters of indifference (*ἀδιάφορα*), the Stoics exposed their view to criticism, as here, by recognizing degrees in things *ἀδιάφορα*, admitting some things so designated to be 'preferable' (*προηγμένα*; *praecipua, producta, praeposita, prompta, sumenda*, etc.), and others 'to be avoided' (*ἀποπροηγμένα*; *reicienda, reiecta, remota*, etc.); *cf.* Introd. § 10.

23. isti: the Peripatetics.

24. Dicunt illi quidem: *they* (*i.e.* the Stoics) *do use these terms.* For the use of *illi*, see p. 3. 19, note fin. **iis vitam beatam compleri**: *i.e.* that the things so designated are needed to round out the happy life.

26. certe: *at any rate.* For the thought at this point, *cf.* p. 93. 14 ff.

27. Nos . . . volumus beatissimam: *sc. sine iis vitam esse posse.* For the force of *volumus*, *cf. voluit*, p. 10. 26, note. The use here of the first person plural identifies the speaker with the Stoics; *cf.* pp. 95. 25 and 100. 9.

28. conclusione: *argument*, for which *cf.* Plato, *de Re P.* 400 D. ***princeps***: *cf. inventori et principi*, p. 22. 6, note, and Introd. § 6. ***ille***: *cf. ille*, p. 37. 4, note.

29. cuiusque: a possessive genitive, dependent on *animi*. **adfectus**: *attitude.*

Page 103. **3. concluditur**: the conclusion is reached, *i.e.* on the assumption that virtue is the sole good. But it is this assumption, and not Socrates' argument, that supports the Stoic claim that the *vita beata* (= *beatissima*) is assured through virtue simply (see p. 102. 27 ff.). **Etenim**: elliptical, (*and rightly so*), *for*. **pro . . . fidem**: *in the name of.*

4. parumne cognitum est, etc.: in his impatience at the thought that any hearer may yet be unconvinced, the speaker asks whether the argument of previous days was incomplete or whether the time was spent in mere idle and fanciful speculation that any should still doubt the truth of the conclusion just noted. For *cognitum est*, *cf. cognitis*, p. 45. 21, note.

10. alacritate: *i.e. laetitia gestiente* (see p. 90. 15, note). For the general thought of this passage, *cf.* pp. 90. 15 ff. and 100. 29 ff.

12. Iam vero: *cf. Iam*, p. 1. 18, note. **qui**: adverb; *cf. Qui*, p. 100. 18. **ad**: *to the standard of; cf. ad*, p. 95. 5.

16. virtute conficitur: *rests upon virtue.* This argument too involves the assumption that virtue is the sole good; *cf.* line 3, note. **hoc . . . concluditur**: *cf. concluditur*, line 3.

18. quae nec misera sit nec beata: *i.e.* which is neither one nor the other.

19. et: *cf.* the use of adversatives to connect the premises of a syllogism, as *autem* (p. 34. 24), *at* (p. 101. 18), and *atqui* (p. 101. 12).

20. ut Epaminondas: *sc. de vita sua praedicat.* The claim made by him was well founded; for the battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.) was a severe blow to Spartan prestige; *cf.* p. 2. 31, note.

21. Consilii, etc.: the Greek original of this verse appeared on a statue of Epaminondas.

22. Africanus: *sc.* the Elder. The elegiac distich which follows was written by Ennius. To the same epigram probably belong also two other lines:

> *Si fas endo plagas caelestum ascendere quoiquam est,*
> *Mi soli caeli maxima porta patet.*

23. supra: *beyond.* The phrase introduced by this word modifies *exoriente*. **Maeotis**: the modern Sea of Azov, which in ancient times was known as *Palus Maeotis*, Lacus Maeotis, or Maeotis simply.

The first of these designations perhaps suggested the phrase *Maeotis paludes*. For the force of final *s* in *Maeotis*, *cf.* again p. 5. 17, note.

24. aequiperare: *sc. me; i.e. rival me.*

25. Quod si est: resuming *et est in aliqua vita*, etc., line 19. **beata vita . . . est**: *it is the happy life that*, etc.

26. nihil est enim aliud, etc.: calling attention to the postulate with which the argument began; see lines 17–18.

27. Quibus positis: *with this given.*

28. quid sequatur: namely, that the *vita beata* is *honesta* because *praedicanda*, etc., and that, since virtue (*honestum*) is the only good, the happy life is assured by virtue; *cf.* p. 101. 15 ff.

29. eadem: *cf.* p. 28. 8, note.

30. erit: for the tense, *cf. exercebit*, p. 71. 19, note.

31. fatebuntur: *sc.* the Peripatetics.

Page 104. **1. quo quid potest dici perversius?** *i.e.* from the point of view of Stoic theory; *cf. si est enim*, etc., p. 93. 23, note.

2. Quid: *cf. Quid*, p. 8. 3, note. **fatentur**: note the mood.

4. Contrariorum, etc.: a principle frequently asserted by the Stoics.

5. Quo loco: *under this head.* **quam vim habeat**: *what is the significance of.*

6. Critolai: a Peripatetic philosopher; *cf.* Introd. § 9.

7. externa: *i.e. fortunae; cf.* Introd. § 8.

8. terram et maria deprimat: *i.e.* outweighs all things material. The choice of verb takes cognizance of the fact that a *downward* pull raises the weight resting in the opposite pan of the balance.

10. Xenocratem: third president of the Academy; *cf.* Introd. § 14. **gravissimum**: Xenocrates' distinction rested in part on his stainless character; *cf.* p. 119. 5 ff. **exaggerantem**: *exalting.*

14. in quem cadit aegritudo: as, according to Stoic theory, may happen to a Peripatetic, because the latter is at the mercy of things which he believes to be evils (*i.e. mala corporis et fortunae*); *cf.* p. 90. 15, note. For the wording of the phrase, *cf. cadere in hominem*, p. 85. 17.

18. ut idem vincatur, etc.: a substantive clause, in construction parallel with the nominatives of the preceding clause.

20. Proinde: *accordingly*, introducing an exhortation. The word *is* here to be pronounced as a dissyllable. As a whole the line forms an iambic trimeter, perhaps quoted from the Atreus of Accius

(*cf.* p. 30. 8, note). **ut vinci nesciant**: *as to be invincible, lit. as not to know how to be overcome.* For the wording of the clause, *cf. p. Mil.* 22. 57: *nescis inimici factum reprehendere.*

22. nos . . . volumus: for the use of the first person plural, *cf.* p. 95. 25, note.

23. quae nisi sunt: *i.e. and, without these qualities.*

24. si in virtute, etc.: *cf.* the admission made by *Auditor* at p. 89. 6. **praesidii**: *cf.* p. 84. 16, note.

28. nihil: probably nominative; see B. 209. 1. *a*, A. 354. *c.* N., G. 377. R. 2, H. 457. 3.

29. obstet: *trouble.* **ergo**: *sc. ut . . . se habeant.* **absolute**: *in perfection.*

30. autem: *now; cf. autem*, p. 34. 24, note.

31. Etenim: subjoining a subsidiary argument; *cf.* the use of the word at p. 102. 3. For the thought thus introduced here, *cf.* p. 92. 15–26.

Page 105. **3. sui paenitet**: *is dissatisfied with its condition; cf. de Senectute* 6. 19: *si . . . vixisset, senectutis eum suae paeniteret?* With the somewhat loose use of *sui* here, *cf. spem . . . sui*, p. 98. 21, note.

4. C. Laelii: *cf.* p. 3. 9, note fin., and p. 49. 7.

5. et eum quidem: *and that too; cf. iisque*, p. 14. 14. **repulsa**: the technical term for defeat at the polls. The year before his election, which took place in 141 B.C., Laelius had been an unsuccessful candidate for the consulship.

7. repulsam fert: the people may be said to suffer defeat in the case supposed, because they lose the services of a good official; at any rate the stigma rests upon them, not upon him.

8. sed tamen: *but, however that may be;* a case of anacoluthon. **te**: *sc. esse.*

10. itaque video, etc.: *and so I realize to what sort of person I am submitting the question, i.e.* I am submitting the question advisedly; *cf. quem*, p. 23. 5, note, and *de Fin.* ii. 33. 107: *video, quicum loquar.*

11. quemvis: *any chance comer.* **interrogarem**; *cf. offerret*, p. 15. 22, note.

14. aetatibus: *lifetime.* For the use of the plural, *cf. cantibus*, p. 2. 30, note.

15. poenas dedisset: in marked contrast to Cinna and Marius, *whose violent methods* for a time made them secure from attack.

16. Cn. Octavii: while the colleague of Cinna (87 B.C.) Octavius drove the latter from the city, being himself in sympathy with Sulla. On the return of Cinna with Marius, Octavius paid the penalty with his life. **P. Crassi**: father of the triumvir. It seems that he anticipated execution by committing suicide; *cf. de Orat.* iii. 3. 10. **L. Caesaris**: consul in 90 B.C.; the Gaius Caesar mentioned in line 19 was his brother.

18. M. Antonii: see p. 78. 28, note.

19. audierim: for mood, see p. 1. 12, note.

20. specimen: *ideal.*

23. ita se gessit: *i.e.* was so violent and unprincipled that none dared to oppose him.

24. sermonis errore labimur: *i.e.* we speak inaccurately.

25. licere . . . conceditur: *is permissible . . . is allowed.* **cuique**: for the position of this word in the sentence, *cf. quisque*, p. 19. 10, note.

26. Cimbricae victoriae: won near Vercellae in 101 B.C. Quintus Lutatius Catulus had been Marius' colleague in the consulship in 102, and as proconsul shared the command with him in this campaign. Being himself of the nobility, Catulus did not side with Marius in the civil war that afterward broke out, and showed his feeling too clearly during the exile of that democratic leader. On the return of Marius he was numbered among the victims; *cf.* line 16, note.

27. altero: *a second.*

30. In quo: (*a transaction*) *in which.*

31. paruit: Catulus anticipated the execution of his sentence by committing suicide.

32. cum . . . tum: *praestat* belongs to both clauses.

Page 106. **1. ipsi adventanti**: *i.e.* inexorably approaching; somewhat more literally, *on its part approaching; cf. ipsa*, p. 55. 19.

3. talis viri: *i.e.* such a man as Catulus. **sex . . . consulatus**: these occurred in 107, 104, 103, 102, 101, and 100 B.C. Marius died in his seventh consulship (86 B.C.), the year after the death of Catulus. **obruere**: *obliterate* (*the memory of*). As a result of the chiastic order of the sentence this infinitive and *contaminare* are readily felt as appositives explaining and expanding *quod* (*fecit*) *Marius.* As a matter of fact, however, it is probably intended that *quam* should coördinate these infinitives with *procedere* (line 2), the two relative clauses being parenthetical.

6. **Dionysius**: *i.e.* the Elder, who ruled from 405 to 367 B.C. **cum . . . dominatum occupavisset**: best rendered by a participial phrase; *cf.* p. 65. 28, note. Dionysius had been made the supreme commander to direct operations against the Carthaginians, and took advantage of the situation to turn into a despotism his home government, which was then republican.

7. **Qua pulchritudine urbem**, etc.: to preserve the order of words we may render: *how fair was the city, how blest with resources the state, which*, etc.

9. **bonis**: *reliable.*

10. **accepimus**: *we have heard.*

11. **virum acrem**, etc.: *sc. eum fuisse.*

12. **eundem**: *cf. idem*, p. 82. 5, note.

13. **bene veritatem intuentibus**: *who really understand the situation.* **videri**: *sc. eum.*

15. **omnia . . . posse**: *had unlimited power*, an example of the cognate accusative.

17. **alius**: *sc. auctor* (*cf. auctoribus* in line 9). **abundaretque**, etc.: *and lacked for neither the company of companions*, etc. For the plural *familiaritatibus*, *cf. cantibus*, p. 2. 30, note.

20. **amore coniunctos**: *whom he loved.*

21. **sed iis quos . . . servos**: *i.e. sed iis servis, quos; cf.* p. 17. 6, note fin. **familiis**: *establishments.*

22. **nomen servitutis . . . detraxerat**: he called them νεοπολῖται, *i.e.* 'new citizens.'

25. **Quin etiam**: see p. 24. 3, note.

26. **ne . . . committeret**: *to avoid trusting.*

27. **sordido . . . artificio**: *in the exercise of a craft*, etc.; ablative of attendant circumstance. **tonstriculae**: *ordinary barber girls.* Mention of female barbers is made in Plautus and elsewhere.

31. **adurerent**: *singe.* **Cum . . . haberet**: *cf.* again p. 65. 28, note.

Page 107. 1. **Locrensem**: *of Locri* (in southern Italy). It is said that, after the death of his first wife, Dionysius took to himself these two new wives in one day. **sic . . . ut**: *only after taking the precaution to; cf.* the restrictive use of *ita*, p. 48. 13 and 15. The specific rendering of such restrictive terms must be determined in each case with a view to the context. **omnia specularetur**, etc.: *make a thorough investigation and inspection* beforehand.

3. cubiculari lecto: evidently a sort of pavilion located in the centre of the apartment.

4. transitum . . . coniunxisset: *had provided a way of crossing; cf.* such phrases as *foedus ferire, viam rumpere*, etc. (A. 390, G. 333. 2. R.; *cf.* B. 176. 4, H. 409). **eum ipsum**: *even this (sc. ponticulum).* **cum forem cubiculi clauserat, detorquebat**: the moat and drawbridge being within the apartment; *cf.* line 3, note.

6. contionari: *address the people; cf. contio.*

7. pila: *at ball;* ablative of means. *Cf.* such phrases as *pedibus ire, equo vehi*, etc.

8. tunicamque poneret: *i.e. deponeret; cf. veste posita*, p. 50. 20.

10. Hic: *hereupon.*

12. quia . . . demonstravisset: *on the ground that he had pointed out*, etc. This clause and *quia . . . adprobavisset* below are on the footing of subordinate clauses in indirect discourse, since *iussit* includes the idea of saying in that of commanding.

14. Atque: here adversative; *cf. Ac*, p. 86. 9. **facto**: noun.

16. Sic distrahuntur, etc.: in the case of Dionysius it was the passion for inordinate power (combined with safety therein) that came into irreconcilable conflict with other desires. **impotentium**: *those who lack balance; cf. impotenti*, p. 91. 18, note.

17. huic . . . illi: *sc. cupiditati* (with both words). **obsecutus sis**: for the mood, see p. 38. 22, note.

18. iudicavit: *made clear his judgment (as to); cf. iudicare*, p. 15. 1.

19. quam: *cf.* p. 14. 10, note.

22. negaret: *cf. negabas*, p. 6. 30, note.

24. degustare: *sample.*

27. textili stragulo: treated as a compound modified by *pulcherrimo;* otherwise *pulcherrimo* and *textili* would need a connective. **magnificis operibus picto**: *worked with splendid designs.*

30. intuentis: accusative plural.

Page 108. **1. In hoc medio apparatu**: *in the midst of these arrangements; cf. extremis*, p. 76. 17, note.

2. saeta equina aptum: *suspended by a horse-hair. Cf.* Horace *Carm.* iii. 1. 17: *Destrictus ensis*, etc. **demitti**: *i.e. ita demitti.*

3. iussit: *sc.* Dionysius. Such an abrupt change of subject is very unusual in Cicero's writings.

4. plenum artis: *i.e.* skillfully wrought; *cf.* edictum . . . *plenum*

aequitatis (*Phil.* i. 3. 8), *plenam dignitatis domum* (*de Off.* i. 39. 138), etc.

6. exoravit: the intensive prefix (*cf. elaborarent*, p. 1. 13, note) indicates the success of the plea; *cf. expugnatio* (as contrasted with *oppugnatio*).

7. nollet: for the mood, *cf.* p. 107. 12, note.

8. Satisne: for the force of the question, *cf. Videsne*, p. 77. 18, note.

9. ei . . . integrum: *possible for him (to); cf.* p. 91. 19, note.

11. iis: *cf. eam*, p. 18. 12, note. So *ea* in line 12 below.

12. inprovida aetate: expressing time when. The phrase is a sort of commentary on *adulescens*, line 11.

13. si sanus esse coepisset: *i.e.* should he come to see things in their true light and renounce his unjust rule. For the use of the pluperfect subjunctive here, see p. 80. 7, note.

14. quarum infidelitatem: *unfaithfulness to which; cf. excessu vitae*, p. 13. 17, note.

15. in Pythagoriis duobus illis: *in the case of those two well-known Pythagoreans.* The story is the familiar one of Damon and Phintias. The latter, being under sentence of death, was allowed to leave the prison to arrange some private business, because Damon was willing to take his place and suffer death in his stead in case he should not return at the appointed time. Another tradition connects this story with Dionysius the Younger. For the rendering of *illis* above, *cf. ille*, p. 37. 4, note.

16. vadem mortis: *as security for (the other's) death.* In the following line *vadem* may be rendered 'substitute.'

19. adscriberer: note the tense (see B. 279. 2). **Quam**: *cf.* again p. 14. 10, note.

20. societate victus: *sociability.*

22. Musicorum: neuter adjective used as an abstract substantive; cf. *geometrica*, p. 25. 20. **perstudiosum, poetam . . . tragicum**: the break in the sentence caused by the following parenthesis leaves these accusatives without construction.

23. nihil ad rem: *sc. pertinet, i.e. is not at all to the point.* As a matter of fact it is generally agreed that Dionysius' writings were sorry efforts; and there is a story that he sent the poet Philoxenus to the stone quarries as punishment for not joining in the chorus of flattery.

24. nescio quo pacto: *cf. nescio quo modo*, p. 12. 24, note.

25. aliis: *sc. generibus.*

26. et: *note the* adversative turn in the thought. Cf. the some-

what similar use of *et* at p. 3. 21. **Aquinio**: an inferior poet. Cicero's high regard for poets generally (*e.g.* for Archias) makes his slighting remark about Aquinius specially significant.

28. me . . . mea: indefinite, just as *te tua* in line 27. **ut . . . redeamus**: see the grammatical references in the note on p. 14. 3.

29. omni cultu et victu humano: *all the amenities of social life.*

Page 109. **3. Archytae**: a Pythagorean of Tarentum; *cf.* Introd. § 5 *a*, and *de Senectute* 12. 39 ff.

4. plane sapientium: *philosophers in the full sense of the word.* For the translation of *plane*, *cf.* the use of the word at pp. 7. 23 and 31. 9. **eadem urbe**: *i.e.* Syracuse. **humilem homunculum**: this designation takes cognizance of Archimedes' quiet and retired and, as some would say, prosaic life.

5. pulvere . . . radio: diagrams were marked out with a rod (*radius*) on a sanded space. It is said that Archimedes was so busy with his studies that at the fall of Syracuse (in 212 B.C.) he did not notice the uproar incident to the sack of the city, being killed while still at work (*cf. de Fin.* v. 19. 50). During the siege his mechanical devices had helped materially toward holding the Romans in check; *cf.* p. 27. 24, and the note there.

6. Cuius: to be construed with *sepulcrum*, line 8. **quaestor**: *i.e.* in 75 B.C.

7. negarent: the perfect (*negarint*) might rather have been expected; for the clause seems to give Cicero's reason for asserting *ignoratum ab Syracusanis.*

9. Tenebam: *sc. memoria.* **senariolos**: the use of the diminutive would seem to indicate that the lines were simple and of no literary merit. *Senarii* are verses of six feet in iambic, trochaic, or anapaestic rhythm.

13. portas Agragentinas: *i.e.* the gates toward Agrigentum (which lay to the west).

14. animum adverti: *i.e. animadverti.*

16. autem: *cf. autem*, p. 2. 20, note.

19. Quo: *cf. quo* (*pervenerimus*), p. 20. 24, note.

20. adversam basim: *the front of the pedestal.*

21. dimidiatis fere: defining more exactly how much is meant by *posterioribus partibus*, and sharing in the construction of that phrase; without these added words the meaning would however have been fairly clear, since *pars* alone sometimes has the meaning 'half.'

Cf. the pleonastic phrase in Plautus, *Men.* 155: *Dies . . . ad umbilicum est dimidiatus mortuos.*

22. nobilissima: the absolute use of the superlative. *Cf.* also *nobilissimo*, p. 2. 25, note. **Graeciae**: the term here includes *Magna Graecia* (p. 17. 22, note).

23. unius: *very*, strengthening the superlative; *cf. una*, p. 73. 5, note, and *unus* in line 31 below.

24. homine Arpinate: in thus designating himself Cicero shows that he was not ashamed of his country birth. Elsewhere (*p. Sulla* 7. 23) he makes the proud claim that Arpinum had twice been the source of salvation to the state, referring thereby to the victory of his townsman Marius at Vercellae (*cf.* p. 105. 26, and the note there) and to his own suppression of the conspiracy of Catiline. The taunts of his detractors, who kept reminding him that he was an outsider and a *novus homo*, seem to have disturbed him little; *cf.* the amusing passage *ad Att.* i. 16. 10, and also *de Leg. Agr.* ii. 1. 3 ff.

26. modo: a formal mark of the restrictive force of the clause; *cf.* p. 1. 12, note. **humanitate**: *culture.*

28. Si . . . quaerimus: *if we take into consideration.*

29. rationibus agitandis exquirendisque: *thought and investigation in the field of science.*

31. qui: for the agreement, *cf. quae*, p. 1. 7, note.

32. in caede et iniuriis: *sc. versabatur;* a case of zeugma.

Page 110. 1. Democritum: Introd. § 5 *c.* **Pythagoram**: Introd. § 5 *a.* **Anaxagoram**: *cf.* p. 127. 8, note.

3. Etenim: *cf.* the use of the word at p. 103. 3. The argument here recalls a line of thought already developed at p. 98. 24 ff. (see especially p. 99. 12 ff.), where it was pointed out that the perfect is the happy, and that man's perfection consists in the perfection of the *mens* (*cf.* the case of Archimedes just cited).

4. illud . . . optumum: *i.e.* the state of perfection which means happiness. **quod quaeris**: *cf. quem quaerimus*, p. 100. 28, note.

5. autem: *cf. autem*, p. 34. 24, note. So in line 7 below.

6. Eius: *sc. mentis.* **bono**: for the case, see grammatical references in the note on p. 52. 12.

7. bonum autem mentis, etc.: *i.e. perfecta mens* and *virtus* are one; *cf.* p. 99. 19–20. This clause and the following complete a new syllogism (*cf.* line 5, note).

9. Hinc: *i.e. e virtute; cf. quo* (perveneri*mus*), p. 20. 24, note.

omnia: *all* (*experiences*). **ut supra dixi**: as a matter of fact what Cicero now proceeds to say has been thus far only implied.

10. uberius: *more explicitly.*

11. plenis . . . gaudiis: *i.e.* joys with no alloy. Or perhaps the meaning is 'joys which make the life full,' *i.e.* 'satisfying joys'; *cf. cogitationibus mollissimis*, p. 42. 9, where the quality ascribed to the thoughts themselves is one which they as a matter of fact produce in the persons who entertain them.

13. honestate: *i.e. virtute.* **Sed ne . . . attingamus**: *cf.* the use of *ne*, p. 106. 26.

14. verbis: *i.e.* abstract argument.

15. quasi moventia: *incentives, so to speak.* As appears below, these incentives are the specific pleasures which fall to the lot of those who possess *virtus* (*i.e. perfecta mens*).

16. intellegentiam: *understanding* (*i.e. wisdom*).

17. nobis: *for our consideration.*

19. tardis enim mentibus, etc.: for at this point *virtus* and *perfecta mens* are assumed to be one and the same thing.

21. triplex . . . fetus: *i.e.* as indicated below, the disciplines of physical science, moral philosophy, and logic; *cf.* Introd. § 5.

22. unus . . . alter: *the first . . . the second.* These words are regularly used, instead of *primus* and *secundus*, in enumerating the units of a total; *cf. de Senectute* 5. 15.

23. expetendarum fugiendarumque rerum: *i.e.* things good and bad.

24. ratione vivendi: *i.e.* practical moral philosophy, the preceding clause having to do with the theoretical side of the subject.

29. curis: *studies.* **ut**: *as, for example.* The illustration thus introduced sets forth the delights arising from investigation in the first mentioned division of philosophy (*cf.* line 22 ff.). **totius mundi**: *the heavens as a whole.* **conversionesque**: an explanation of *motus; cf.* p. 49. 28, note fin. For the use of the plural, *cf. cantibus*, p. 2. 30, note.

30. perspexerit: future perfect, *has grasped.* For the thought, *cf.* p. 29. 27 ff.

31. congruere: *sharing* (*in*), lit. *agreeing* (*with*). The earth is thought of as the centre about which all else revolves; *cf.* p. 18. 10 ff.

32. septem alia: *i.e.* the five planets and the sun and moon; *cf. quinque errantium*, p. 27. 24, note.

Page 111. 1. altitudine . . . humilitate: said with reference to distance from the earth; *cf. de Nat. D.* i. 31. 87: *quinque autem stellae . . . aliae propius a terris, aliae remotius, . . . eadem spatia conficiunt;* also *ibid.* ii. 20. 52–53, and *de Div.* ii. 43. 91.

2. rata . . . et certa: predicate adjectives. Translate: *whose movements, though irregular, mark off limits of their courses which are fixed and definite.*

5. initiorum: *elements*, called also *principia; cf.* p. 11. 12. **unde**: note the mood of the following verb.

6. quae . . . origo: *cf. quem*, p. 23. 5, note.

9. vicissitudo atque mutatio; *reciprocal change; cf. de Nat. D.* iii. 12. 31: *Praetereaque omnia haec tum intereunt, cum in naturam aliam convertuntur, quod fit cum terra in aquam se vertit, et cum ex aqua oritur aer, ex aere aether, cumque eadem vicissim retro commeant.* **librata**: *held in equipoise.*

10. ponderibus: *i.e.* weights within itself. It was thought that half of the constituent parts of the earth are light, the rest heavy. **qulbus cavernis maria sustineantur**: *upon what caverns the seas rest.* Interest in the nature of the sea bottom was stimulated among the ancients by the observation that though water is an outside element resting on the earth, it recedes into a domain of its own and does not overflow the dry land; *cf.* Pliny, *Ep.* vi. 20. 9: *Praeterea mare in se resorberi . . . videbamus*, and *de Nat. D.* ii. 45. 116. At this point in the sentence the sequence is carelessly shifted to primary (*cf. essent . . . orta*, etc. in line 6). **qua**: modifies *gravitate* in line 11.

11. medium mundi locum: *i.e.* the centre of the earth; *cf.* again p. 18. 10 ff.

12. infimus: in a special technical sense, as the context shows. **rotundo**: *a sphere*, this being the shape of the universe (*mundus*), as was then supposed.

14. a deo Delphis: *i.e. a deo Delphico.* It is unusual for a locative to be attached to a noun; but *cf. oraculum Delphis, de Div.* i. 19. 37. **ut . . . agnoscat**, etc.: a substantive clause expanding *illa . . . cognitio.* For the thought, *cf.* p. 23. 17 ff. With this sentence Cicero passes on to the second division of philosophy (*cf.* p. 110. 23). **ipsa**: for the case, *cf. ipse*, p. 12. 26, note.

16. ex quo: *in consequence of which*, or simply *so that*, the clause being one of result.

17. illius: *sc. mentis*, modifier of studium.

18. aeternitatem: *sc. deorum.* **in brevitate vitae conlocatam**: *limited to the brevity of (this earthly) life.*

19. cum . . . videt, etc.: for this observation of the sweep and extent of the divine leads to the expectation that the scope of the human soul will prove to be similar. **alias ex aliis**: here in the reciprocal sense (= *inter se*); *cf.* line 8 above.

20. quibus: indirect object of *moderatur* (line 21). **ab aeterno tempore fluentibus**, etc.: *in ceaseless operation from time without beginning to time without end.*

21. ratio . . . : *i.e. deus.* The Stoics had some diffi- . . . ctrine of fate (*cf. necessitate*, line 20) . . . ice.

. . . etc.: rec . . . ing *Haec tractanti*, etc. (line . . . ses himse.. afresh to his subject. **ille**: . . . ff. **suspiciens**: of the upward look . . . .

sus: *in turn; cf. rursum*, p. 18. 18.

et: *cf.* again p. 49. 28, note fin. **Hinc**: referring to *humana . . . considerat; cf. quo* (*pervenerimus*), p. 20. 24, note.

25. partes: *subdivisions.*

26. spectet extremum: *looks to (as) best.*

27. quo referenda sint officia: *i.e.* by what standard duty is to be measured. For the use of *quo*, see *Hinc*, line 24, note, and *cf. ad* and the accusative, p. 95. 4, note.

28. diligenda: *i.e. deligenda.*

29. vel: *cf.* p. 23. 15, note.

30. quod . . . agimus: *i.e. toward which we are working in the present discussion; cf. id agat*, p. 21. 20. **ut . . . sit**: for the brachylogy, see p. 9. 9, note.

31. Sequitur tertia: *there follows in the third place.* To preserve the order of the sentence the following relative clauses may be rendered by participial phrases. With this remark the speaker passes on to the subject of logic; *cf.* p. 110. 24 ff.

32. sapientiae: *cf.* p. 61. 16, note.

Page 112. **2. perfecta concludit**: *draws the conclusion from given premises; cf. conclusum sit*, p. 24. 26, note.

5. sapientia: ablative. **Transeat**, etc.: according to Stoic teaching the *sapiens* is no recluse, and Cicero was himself in sympathy with the idea of an active practical philosophy; cf. Introd. § 23, and *ad Fam.* xv. 4. 16.

6. eo . . . cum . . . cernat, etc.: *this, namely . . . the discovery (of)*, etc. The substantive use of a *cum*-clause is not unusual; *cf. de Invent.* i. 11. 15: *Purgatio est, cum factum conceditur, culpa removetur.* On *eo*, *cf.* p. 3. 4, note.

7. prudentia . . . iustitia: two of the cardinal virtues; see p. 28. 6, note fin. **utilitatem**: *the things advantageous (to)*, *lit. the advantage (of)*.

8. in suam domum: note the presence of the preposition, also the position of *suam*. **inde**: referring to *utilitatem*, line 7; *cf.* again *quo* (*pervenerimus*), p. 20. 24, note.

10. doctis: *in the case of the cultured;* a dative of reference. **positum est**: *is based.*

11. omnis vitae: *i.e.* every department of life. **consentiens . . . conspirans**: *mutual . . . communal*, referring to the unity of thought and purpose which characterizes true friendship; *cf. de Off.* i. 17. 56: *efficitur id, quod Pythagoras vult in amicitia, ut unus fiat ex pluribus.* For the phrasing here used, *cf. de Fin.* i. 20. 65: *quam magnos quantaque amoris conspiratione consentientes tenuit (sc. Epicurus) amicorum greges!*

12. cotidiano cultu atque victu: *the amenities of daily association.*

13. quo sit beatior: *to make it happier.* The speaker is of course thinking of the Peripatetic view; *cf.* p. 93. 13 ff.

14. Fortuna ipsa, etc.: a figurative way of saying that the terms *mala fortunae* and *mala corporis* are misnomers, happiness being in no wise imperiled by the things thus designated. *Cf.* in this connection the discussion at p. 94. 18 ff.

15. Quodsi, etc.: the conditional clause sums up what is implied in the preceding sentence. **id est virtutibus**: for they are manifestations of *perfecta mens; cf.* pp. 99. 18 ff. and 110. 7.

16. beatum: *cf.* p. 102. 1, note.

19. An tu, etc.: *cf.* the use of *an*, p. 98. 4. **dicere**: *cf. dicis*, p. 6. 24. **viola . . . rosa**: the singular is used collectively. The reference is probably to the flower-strewn couch of the banquet; *cf.* Horace, *Carm.* i. 5. 1: *multa . . . in rosa.* **An Epicuro . . . licebit**, etc.: as though something like *Stoicis idem non licebit?* were to follow (*cf. Ergo*, p. 15. 5, note fin.). The period, however, is so long that the thread is lost, and a fresh start is made with *Sed cum is dicat*, etc., p. 113. 11.

20. tantum modo: *simply.*

22. ut habet se res: *in view of the actual facts of the case.* The speaker willingly assents to Epicurus' conclusion, though he finds the latter's logic unsatisfactory.

23. sapienti: for the case, *cf. doctis*, line 10.

24. cum praesertim: *especially when*, with concessive force.

25. omne malum dolore definiat: *limits all evil to (lit. by) pain.* For the phrasing, *cf.* p. 3. 5, note.

26. haec nostra: for the speaker still identifies himself with the Stoics; *cf. volumus*, p. 95. 25, note. **honesta, turpia**: for the asyndeton, *cf.* p. 28. 9, note.

28. nos: *i.e.* men in general. **leve . . . sentiatur**: *is felt . . . as smooth*, etc. Epicurus held that our sensations are determined by the shape of the atoms of which things are constructed.

29. differenti a iudicio: for this form of comparison, *cf. cum Graecia*, p. 2. 1, note.

30. sui: *i.e.* his own teachings. **tum**: correlative with *tum* in line 32. The intervening and the following *cum*-clause are concessive.

Page 113. **4. firmitatem animi**, etc.: *i.e.* the means Cicero has himself recommended at length in Book ii. In the present passage he ignores one of the lines of argument by which Epicurus fortified himself against pain; *cf.* p. 73. 14 ff.

5. praecepta fortitudinis: *exhortations to fortitude.*

6. una: *i.e. sola.* **adquiescere**: *finds comfort . . . (in).*

7. ut si quis aestuans: *as if any one, tossed with fever.* **cum . . . patiatur**: *cf.* p. 65. 28, note.

8. vim caloris: *i.e. the burning heat; cf.* p. 21. 16, note.

9. Arpinati: *sc. praedio*, and *cf. homine Arpinate*, p. 109. 24, note.

10. non enim, etc.: giving the reason for the dissent implied in the preceding sentence.

11. Sed cum, etc.: *cf. An Epicuro*, etc., p. 112. 19, note.

13. iis, qui, etc.: *i.e.* the Stoics.

14. quod honestate careat: *i.e. quod non honestum sit.*

16. Me quidem auctore: *if my advice at any rate were taken.*

17. balbutire: *quibble, lit. stammer.* With this sentence the speaker's attitude changes. Up to this point in the discussion he has identified himself with the Stoics, insisting throughout that the thesis *that* virtue is a sufficient basis for the happy life can be demonstrated *only on* the assumption that virtue is the sole good; cf. p. 98. 21, note.

Now he exhibits the independence of an adherent of the New Academy (*cf.* the somewhat slighting *laqueis Stoicorum* in line 20), no longer seeing any reason why the Peripatetics and the adherents of the Old Academy may not maintain the above mentioned thesis despite their recognition of three classes of good and evil (*cf.* Introd. §§ 8 and 14). The 'quibble' to which he objects lies in the use of the phrase *vita beata;* for these words lack definiteness in the mouth of those who sometimes draw a distinction between a *vita beata* and the *vita beatissima* (*cf.* p. 93. 14 ff.). The speaker would rule out any reservation, mental or otherwise, in the statement of the thesis that virtue is a sufficient basis for the happy life.

18. beatam vitam . . . descensuram: another way of saying that pain has no power to mar the (perfectly) happy life, virtue being the sole prerequisite thereto. **Phalaridis taurum**: *cf. in eculeum coiciuntur*, p. 89. 13, note.

19. Sint: *let it be granted that there are.* **tria genera bonorum**: *cf.* line 17, note.

20. ut . . . recedamus: *cf. ne pluris persequar*, p. 14. 3, note. **laqueis**: *subtleties.*

21. sane: *if you will; cf.* p. 59. 29, note.

22. externa: *i.e. fortunae.*

23. sumenda sint: as a Stoic might say (*cf.* p. 102. 22, note fin.). Here, however, the strictly technical meaning of *sumenda* can hardly be intended; for the speaker is now ready to grant that *bona corporis* and *bona fortunae* are perhaps rightly so named — he stipulates simply that they be rated as of little worth in comparison with *bona animi* (*alia . . . illa divina*, line 24).

26. dixerim: see p. 40. 32, note.

27. Is: *i.e. dolor.* **huic . . . sententiae**: namely, that virtue is a sufficient basis for the happy life.

31. virtuti: the genitive might have been expected here, but such a use of the dative as this is not without parallel.

Page 114. **2. Hulc igitur succumbet virtus**, etc.: the matter of withstanding *dolor* is discussed at length in Book ii, but the importance of the subject leads the speaker at this point to develop again in part the line of thought there brought out.

4. Pueri Spartiatae, etc.: *cf.* p. 68. 24 ff., and the note there on line 25.

5. vidimus ipsi: *cf.* p. 68. 27, note.

6. pugnis: nominative, *pugnus*. Such rough and tumble fighting as is here described was at Sparta designated παγκράτιον. The παγκράτιον proper, however, which combined boxing and wrestling, was fought according to rules.

7. cum exanimarentur: *cf.* p. 65. 28, note. **prius quam**: *sooner than*; *cf.* B. 292. 1. c. The phrase is practically a substitute for *potius quam*; *cf. citius . . . quam*, p. 74. 31.

8. barbaria: *uncivilized country*. **India**: for the construction see p. 3. 4, note. **vastior**: *more wild*; *cf.* the verb *vastare*, and Pliny, *Ep.* vi. 16. 17: *mare . . . vastum*.

9. primum ei: balanced by *Mulieres vero*, line 12. **qui sapientes habentur**: *i.e.* the Brahmans.

10. Caucasi: see p. 77. 9, note.

11. vim: *stress*. **sine dolore**: *unmoved, i.e.* without (evincing) distress.

13. earum vir: *the husband*, the singular being used in the generic sense. **in certamen . . . veniunt**: *are matched against one another to decide*.

14. plures: *several*; *cf. pluris*, p. 19. 4, note.

16. una: the adverb. The practice here referred to is now known as suttee. It is said that it is not yet altogether suppressed.

17. illa victa: *the disqualified* (*wives*), the singular being here both generic and collective; *cf. rudem illum et inexercitatum*, p. 70. 16, and *viola*, etc., p. 112. 19. **Numquam naturam**, etc.: *i.e.* it is not mere custom, making the unnatural to become second nature, that accounts for their action, but rather a normal fortitude — a quality lacking in us because of our self-indulgence and mistaken judgment. The parenthesis seems inserted with the idea of anticipating a possible rejoinder. But it is really an unnecessary interruption, introducing matter that harmonizes very poorly with what is said above and below.

18. vinceret: present contrary to fact. The conditional suggestion lurks in *Numquam*, which may be rendered 'under no circumstances'; *cf. offerret*, p. 15. 22, note. **umbris**: *cf. vitam . . . umbratilem*, p. 65. 25, note.

19. opinionibus: *cf.* p. 90. 15, note.

20. more: *cf.* p. 14. 19. **delenitum**: with *animum*, line 19.

21. quorum inbutae mentes: *i.e. qui, cum eorum mentes imbutae sint*, or, more simply, *qui imbuti*. **pravitatis erroribus**: *errors arising from delusion*.

22. quamvis: *any . . . whatsoever*. **prius . . . quam**: *cf. line 7*. **subierint**: the future perfect indicative.

24. quorum: neuter. **etiamsi**: logically the first member of this compound (*etiam*) belongs with *inprudentes*. In such cases *etiam* is sometimes separated from *si*; *e.g.* Plautus, *Ps.* 628: *Si quidem hercle etiam supremi promptas thensauros Iovis.*

25. recusent: the choice of mood is perhaps influenced by *violent*, line 23. The sense here would seem to call for the indicative.

27. lustrationes: *migrations.*

28. vulnera excipiant: *court wounds*, a stronger expression than *vulnera accipere.*

29. quae perferant . . . ambitiosi, etc.: *cf.* p. 81. 5 ff.

31. cupiditatis: *the object of their desire; sc. gratia.*

32. adhibeat . . . modum: *check itself.*

Page 115. **1. unde deflexit**: namely, from the answer to the question which *Auditor* asks at p. 112. 18. **inquam**: *I say*, in the resumptive sense.

5. resistet: *remain behind.* **ut ante dixi**: namely at p. 89. 14 ff.

6. ea: *i.e. vita beata.* For the construction, see p. 3. 4, note.

8. nec enim, etc.: *i.e.* happiness attends the virtues just as inevitably as happiness is dependent upon them.

12. Sapientis: he being the possessor of *virtus.* **quod**: perhaps adverbial accusative (*lit.* 'as to which'); but *cf. nihil paeniteat*, p. 104. 28, and the note there. **paenitere**: *sc. eum.*

13. invitum: adjective for adverb; *cf. Durior*, p. 46. 3. The accusative is used, just as though *facere* had an expressed subject; *cf. de Off.* iii. 15. 63: *sapientis esse nihil contra mores, leges, instituta facientem habere rationem rei familiaris*, and *ibid.* iii. 5. 24.

14. ita . . . quasi certo futurum: *in such a way as to feel confident*, etc.

15. nihil . . . admirari: ordinarily this phrase applies both to welcome and to unwelcome happenings, *e.g.* Horace, *Ep.* i. 6. 1. Here, however, the context generally and the choice of verb in the subordinate clause (*acciderit*) suggest that the speaker is thinking of unwelcome happenings only. With this passage, *cf.* p. 98. 19 ff. **ut**: introducing a clause of result. **novum**: *as a surprise.*

16. omnia ad suum arbitrium referre: *i.e.* be master of every situation. **suis**: note the position of the word.

18. facilis: *simple.*

19. conclusio: *cf. conclusione*, p. 102. 28, note. finem bono-

rum: *i.e. summum bonum.* **senserint**: *adopted the principle (that).* **congruere naturae**, etc.: for the Stoics held that *virtus* and the life in accord with nature are one.

20. cum id: *(and) since this.*

21. officio . . . potestate: *duty . . . grasp.*

22. sequatur necesse est, ut, etc.: the argument is thrown together rather loosely. Strict logic would require that what is said in the *ut*-clause be put in the form of another *cum*-clause, and that *sequatur necesse est* should be reserved to introduce the conclusion of the whole matter (which now takes the form *Ita fit*, etc., line 23 ff.).

24. fortissime: *most manfully.*

25. quo modo nunc est: a saving phrase, reminding the hearer that the speaker, as an adherent of the New Academy, is bound to no fixed and settled view of the matter in question; *cf.* Introd. §§ 15 and 16.

27. equidem: *cf.* p. 11. 30, note.

28. impetrarim: *cf. erraverim*, p. 18. 8, note.

31. quod: *in view of the fact that.* At this point the involved sentence takes a fresh start, leaving *impetrarim lubenter, ut* of line 28 to be resumed by *id velim audire*, p. 116. 1 ff. **paulo ante**: see p. 113. 16 ff.

Page 116. **1. beatissimos**: *perfectly happy.* The use of the superlative precludes any quibble; *cf. balbutire*, p. 113. 17, note.

2. consentaneum: *consistent.*

3. contra istam sententiam: *i.e.* against the view that the *vita beata* is possible on the assumption that there exists other good than virtue. *Auditor's* remark emphasizes a grave fault in the construction of this book; *cf.* p. 93. 21, note.

6. nihil . . . iudicat: *decides no issue.* **sed habetur**, etc.: *but embraces all sides (of a subject).* The phrase in the text is more familiar in the active form, *i.e. orationem habere.*

7. aliis: *i.e.* the hearers. **ipsa per sese**, etc.: *i.e.* on its own merits, unprejudiced by the *ipse dixit* of any one. The subject of this clause is left somewhat vague; for, although *ipsa* agrees with *oratio* (line 6), *res* would be a more natural subject here. With the statement of Academic procedure here recorded *cf. de Div.* ii. 72. 150: *conferre causas et, quid in quamque sententiam dici possit, expromere, nulla adhibita sua auctoritate iudicium audientium relinquere integrum ac liberum.*

9. ut . . . virtus satis habeat: *i.e. ut demonstremus . . . virtutem satis habere; cf.* p. 9. 9, note.

10. de finibus: *sc. bonorum et malorum.* To this topic Cicero had devoted a previous treatise; *cf.* p. 97. 6, and the note there.

11. Carneadem: see Introd. § 15.

12. sed is, ut contra Stoicos: *but he (maintained it) from the point of view of hostility to the Stoics.*

14. disciplinam: *system; cf. disciplinis*, p. 55. 23, note. **illud cum pace agemus**: *treat this theme irenically* (in contrast to the method of Carneades, line 12). Under the influence of the intervening parenthesis this clause is substituted for the logical conclusion of *quoniam videris hoc velle*, etc., line 8 ff.

16. posiverunt: *have postulated.* This rarer form of the perfect serves as a reminder that *pono* is a compound of *sino*.

18. si fieri potest, ut: *in the hope that; cf. Si qui . . . potest*, p. 70. 23; also *de Fin.* v. 17. 46: *ut elaborent, si efficere possint, ut . . . non appareat corporis vitium*, and *Brutus* 91. 316: *Is dedit operam, si modo id consequi potuit, ut*, etc.

19. quasi decretum: *cf. decretis*, p. 58. 23, note. The introduction of this word into the vocabulary of philosophy widens its meaning somewhat; hence the apologetic *quasi*. **possit . . . . . convenire**: *may be found consistent (with).*

21. autem: *now; cf. autem*, p. 19. 14. **haec**: for the form, *cf.* p. 11. 21, note.

22. simplices: *simple, i.e.* which find in one specific thing a good which is *et summum et solum;* contrast *mixta*, line 27.

24. vacuitatem doloris: *cf. dolore vacare*, p. 60. 12.

25. naturae primis bonis: *i.e.* the things for which we instinctively strive, this category including life, health, etc.; *cf.* again Introd. § 15.

26. aut . . . aut: marking an apposition; *cf.* p. 71. 24–25.

27. mixta: *complex.*

29. externa: *i.e. fortunae.*

30. honestate: *i.e. virtute.* **Dinomachus et Callipho**: of these philosophers little is known. The expedient adopted by them was an attempt to reconcile the Epicurean and the Stoic view.

31. indolentiam: *cf. vacuitatem doloris*, line 24, note.

32. Diodorus: *cf.* Introd. § 9.

Page 117. 1. Aristonis, Pyrrhonis: cf. p. 60. 13–14, and the

notes there. Both these philosophers held virtue to be the *summum bonum* and the reverse the *summum malum*, and denied to the things lying between these extremes any value whatsoever.

2. Brilli: who held that wisdom is the *summum bonum*; *cf.* Introd. § 11.

3. obtinere: *maintain*, *i.e.* with reference to the thesis that virtue is a sufficient basis for the happy life.

4. videor: *cf. videamur*, p. 42. 13 note.

5. explicata: *simple, easy.* **Theophrastum**: *cf.* p. 93. 31 ff.

6. et si qui: *and any who.*

7. licet: *i.e.* without inconsistency.

8. ut: introducing a substantive clause explaining *id*, *quod fere faciunt.* **exaggerent**: *cf. exaggerantem*, p. 104. 10, note.

10. ex conlatione: *by comparison, lit. as a result of the comparison.*

11. conterere: *trample under foot.* **laudem**: *i.e.* the praiseworthy (*honestum*, *virtus*).

13. sint: for the mood, *cf. Quamquam abierit*, p. 48. 25, note.

14. beati: *cf. beatum*, p. 102. 1, note. The genitive is appositional. **longe et late patet**: *i.e.* must not be too narrowly defined. In setting forth here the case of the Peripatetics the speaker is now called upon to advocate the very view which he has previously scouted; *cf.* p. 93. 20 ff.

17. multo maiore ex parte: *in much the larger degree.*

20. graviore: *more decisive.* **propendent**: *prevail.*

21. horum ratione: *in harmony with the view of these*, *i.e.* of the Peripatetics and the Old Academy. For the use of the ablative, *cf.* p. 12. 11, note. **vel**: *cf. vel*, p. 96. 9, note.

22. taurum: *sc. Phalaridis; cf.* p. 61. 5, note fin.

23. Aristotele: founder of the Peripatetic School; Introd. § 8. **Xenocrate, Speusippo, Polemone**: presidents of the Old Academy; Introd. § 14. **auctoribus**: *with the approval* (*of*).

25. Calliphontis . . . Diodori: see p. 116. 31 ff.

27. retro ponenda: *i.e. postponenda.*

28. habere se videntur angustius: *seem to be in a more difficult plight; i.e.* their tenets are harder to reconcile with the thesis which Cicero is anxious to establish. **enatant**: *they pull through.*

29. Hieronymus: *cf.* p. 116. 25.

30. Carneadeum: see p. 116. 25, note.

31. bonorum: neuter; objective genitive with iudicem.

32. videantur: *i.e.* to the senses ; *cf.* p. 120. 15 ff.

Page 118. **3. Quis**: *i.e. Quis eorum.*

6. Quid? *well; cf. Quid*, p. 8. 3, note.

8. ipsos: *even; cf. ipsa*, p. 54. 10. **inventorum**: *achievements.* For the source of the information here given about Epicurus, see p. 74. 9, note.

9. confutat: *neutralizes.*

10. ex tempore: *for the occasion.* **effutire**: *hold forth.* **De morte enim ita sentit**, etc.: with these words the speaker passes to an exposition of Epicurus' view in general, his remarks no longer referring specifically to the occasion mentioned in the preceding sentence.

11. ut . . . putet, etc.: a rather redundant form of expression; *ita sentit* might have been followed by indirect discourse simply. For another form of redundancy, *cf. dicendum existimem*, p. 45. 20, note.

13. certa: *definite* (*principles*), explained by line 14 ff. ; *cf.* also p. 73. 17 ff.

14. consolatur: *offsets.*

15. Qui: *in what respect; cf. Qui*, p. 33. 23, note. **isti grandiloqui**: in setting forth the case of Epicurus the speaker adopts the latter's tone toward the Stoics (see p. 112. 26 ff.). For *isti, cf. ista*, p. 5. 25, note. **haec duo**: *i.e.* death and pain.

16. melius se habent: *are . . . better fortified.*

17. putantur: *i.e.* by men generally.

18. Quis: *i.e.* who of the ordinary run of men.

21. tenui victu: *the simple life.*

24. desideret . . . curet: for the mood see p. 40. 32, note.

25. An, etc.: *cf. Ergo*, p. 15. 5, note fin. **Scythes Anacharsis**: a prince who came to Athens about 594 B.C. as a student. The letters ascribed to him are doubtless spurious. *Scythes* is given first position to bring out the fact that Anacharsis was of a wild and barbarous nation.

26. nostrates: *lit. of our country*, but here perhaps best rendered 'our'; for the antithesis of *Scythes* (*i.e.* 'barbarian') suggests that *nostrates* is meant to include both Greek and Roman (*i.e.* 'civilized'). Some think, however, that Cicero at this point is translating bodily from a Greek source, and that he has carelessly allowed a word to slip in, which is correct only from the point of view of the Greek original.

27. non potuerunt: *i.e.* is it a thing inconceivable that philosophers *like Epicurus* reached a point of view that even a barbarian *succeeded in attaining?*

28. Hannoni: a Carthaginian.

29. solorum: *the soles of my feet.*

31. ut ad quietum: *assured (that you are coming) to one at leisure.* The meaning of the sentence (as is shown by the Greek original of the letter) is that if Hanno ever needs assistance, Anacharsis will always be at leisure to help, because his own wants are so few.

32. Munera . . . ista, quibus es delectatus: *i.e.* gifts of things in which a Carthaginian like Hanno had found pleasure. Such gifts Anacharsis does not care to retain.

Page 119. **1. fere**: *in general.*

2. natura vitiosa: *i.e.* their own faulty characters.

3. potuerunt: *have found it possible.*

5. Xenocrates: Introd. § 14.

6. legati: *messengers.* **quinquaginta . . . talenta**: Alexander had taken a dislike to Aristotle, and in order to irritate the latter sent this princely gift (about $55,000) to a rival philosopher.

7. temporibus illis: *in those days.* **Athenis praesertim**: for that city was impoverished as a result of serious reverses, the last of which had been suffered at the hands of Philip.

8. Academiam: the gymnasium where Plato had lectured, and from which the school founded by him derived its name; *cf.* p. 57. 26, note.

9. tantum, quod satis esset: *just enough and no more, lit. only so much as to be sufficient.*

10. cui numerari iuberet: *with what (banker) he wanted the money deposited.*

11. cenula: diminutive, *plain dinner.*

12. tristiores: *somewhat put out; cf. trístis*, p. 62. 11.

13. triginta minas: about $550.

14. At vero: *cf. at*, p. 46. 20, note. **liberius**: *with less politeness.* **ut Cynicus**: *cf.* p. 46. 4, and the note there.

15. si quid opus esset: *if he wanted anything;* an example of the predicate use of *opus.*

16. paululum: *sc. te amove.* **a sole**: *out of my sunlight.*

17. videlicet: *you see.*

18. regem Persarum: see p. 98. 6, note.

19. sibi nihil deesse: at this point indirect question runs over into indirect statement. **eius . . . ille . . . eum**: the king.

***22.* Vides**: *you know.* **ut**: cf. ut, p. 76. 16, note.

23. subtiliter: *scientifically.*

24. partim esse: the indirect discourse depends on the idea of saying implied in *diviserit*, line 23. For *partim*, *cf.* p. 99. 7, note. **necessarias**: *essential.*

25. neutrum: *i.e. neque naturales neque necessarias.*

26. parabiles: *within (the) reach (of all); cf. paro.*

29. essent, etc.: the sequence is determined by *putavit*, line 30; *cf. contineretur*, p. 1. 7, note. **plane**: *cf. plane*, p. 31. 9, note. **inanes**: *profitless.* **neque . . . modo**: *cf. non modo*, p. 38. 18, note.

31. Hoc loco: *cf. Quo loco*, p. 104. 5, note. **eae . . . voluptates . . . quarum**, etc.: *i.e.* those of the second class above mentioned (*naturales et non necessarias*, lines 24–25).

32. singillatim extenuantur: *are discounted severally in turn.* **quarum genera**: careless wording. We should expect here simply *quas*, or that the sentence should read *eaque genera voluptatum singillatim extenuantur, quae*, etc.; for these discounted pleasures of the second class are in a sense themselves classes or kinds of pleasure. Note the examples cited on the following page, and also the use of *genus* there at line 7.

Page 120. 1. quaerunt tamen copiam: *but (to which) they require easy access.* For they did not regard pleasures of this second class as worth while, if they were hard to obtain. **et**: *in the first place.* No correlative *et* follows, the second point (which is long delayed) being taken up in a different way at line 23.

4. non genere . . . metiendas: *i.e.* that they are pleasures whose rating necessarily rests on mere physical characteristics, not on personal worth or standing.

5. forma: *cf.* p. 28. 17, note.

7. omnino: *in general.*

8. si non obsit: *i.e.* in case it brings no corresponding disadvantage. **prodesse**: adversative asyndeton. **Totum . . . hoc**: *this whole (doctrine).* The following phrase (*de voluptate*) elucidates *hoc.*

9. sic: *under this limitation; cf.* the use of *ita*, p. 48. 13.

12. hac usurum compensatione . . . ut: *will strike this balance, that.*

16. iudicentur: *are passed upon.* **ad animum referri**: *sc. a sapiente*, the mind in his case being the court of final appeal. For *the thought at this point, cf.* p. 117. 31 ff.

17. quocirca: *accordingly, while*, etc., the first clause being logically subordinate; *cf. Itaque credo*, etc., p. 17. 16, note. The thought of this and the following sentence is that real and lasting happiness rests upon the state of the mind, not upon external things. **tam diu, dum**: *(only) so long as.*

18. sentiret: the shift to secondary sequence is justified by the fact that the present *praecipit* (line 9) refers to a *past* activity on the part of Epicurus (*cf.* p. 17. 11 note fin.), thus giving a point of support for either sequence.

20. perpetuas et contextas: *i.e.* without a break in the chain.

21. cum . . . iungeretur: *cf.* p. 65. 28, note.

23. Atque . . . etiam: see *et*, line 1, note. **similia**: *i.e.* similar reasoning.

25. parvo cultu: *plain fare.*

26. desideriis, etc.: *i.e.* that it is hunger and thirst that give the real relish to food and drink; *cf.* the proverb 'hunger is the best sauce.' **Darius**: probably Darius Codomannus, who came to the throne in 336 B.C. **in fuga**: *i.e.* after one of his defeats at the hands of Alexander.

28. videlicet: *cf.* the use of the word at p. 119. 17.

29. Ptolomaeus: perhaps Ptolomaeus Soter, who reigned from 323 to 285 B.C.

31. cibarius: *common*, a derived meaning of the word.

Page 121. **1. contentius**: *rather briskly; cf. contendo.*

2. quo: see the grammatical references in the note on p. 72. 26. **obsonare . . . famem**: *was getting in a supply of hunger-sauce.* The verb *obsonare* signifies 'to provide relishes,' *obsonium* being a designation for anything eaten with bread.

4. philitiis: *community meals.* The custom of making the principal meal of the day a community affair prevailed extensively among the early Greeks, and was long continued by the Spartans and Cretans. At Athens it survived in the public meals for officials.

5. Dionysius: *cf.* p. 106. 6, note. **iure**: *broth.*

6. caput: *the principal dish.* **illa**: *i.e.* the meal; *cf.* the use of *illa*, p. 3. 29.

8. cursus ad Eurotam: *cf. Eurota*, p. 69. 22, note; and for the form of the phrase see *tempus . . . post mortem*, p. 8. 31, note. *Cf.* also Livy, v. 39. 8: *quae* (*civitas*) *ad Aliam tam pavide fugerat* (*i.e.* '*at the Alia*').

12. ut quicquid: *no matter what.* When as here *quicquid* follows another relative word, it has almost the force of *quidvis.* **quod modo**: *provided that it.*

13. non quaerunt amplius: *make no further search; cf. exclamare maius*, p. 78, 24.

14. more doctae: *i.e.* rather than by philosophy.

16. exponitur: namely in the *Cyropaedia* (i. 2. 8), a work which professes to tell the life-history of Cyrus the Elder. In reality it is a didactic treatise setting forth Xenophon's ideal of kingly government. Another citation from it is found p. 81. 10 ff. **negat**: *cf. negavit*, line 5, and *negabas*, p. 6. 30, note.

17. Quamquam: *cf. quamquam*, p. 2. 15, note.

19. copia facili: *cf. copiam*, p. 120. 1, note.

20. Adde: *take into consideration.* **siccitatem**: *soundness (of body).* Strictly the word signifies freedom from gross humors; *cf. de Senectute* 10. 34: *summam esse in eo (sc. Masinissa) siccitatem corporis.*

22. sudantis, etc.: *sc. homines.*

25. Timotheum: a distinguished Athenian soldier.

26. principem civitatis: *i.e. a leader in the state.*

27. apud Platonem: *i.e.* at the Academy. *Cf.* the entertainment there of the *legati* sent by Alexander, p. 119. 8.

31. Quid, quod: *cf.* the same phrase at p. 21. 21, and the note there. **ne . . . quidem**: *cf. ne . . . quidem*, p. 6. 8, note.

Page 122. 1. Dionis: a connection by marriage of Dionysius the Elder (*cf.* p. 106. 6, note) and prominent at his court. Dionysius the Younger, after his accession to the throne, wronged and banished Dion but was subsequently supplanted by him. The letter here referred to was supposedly written after the death of Dion. It is probably spurious.

2. Quo: *i.e.* to Syracuse. Plato visited the court at Syracuse in the time of Dionysius the Elder, and again, at the suggestion of Dion, after the younger Dionysius came to the throne. For Plato's visits to Italy, see p. 17. 28, and the note there. **quae ferebatur**: *as it was called*, or simply, *so-called; cf.* the more familiar *qui dicitur.*

3. Italicarum: the Greek cities of southern Italy were notorious for their low moral standard. **mensarum**: *banquets.*

4. bis in die, etc.: explaining more fully *vita illa beata*, etc., line 2.

7. tam mirabiliter: *in so strange a way*, i.e. by such strange *means.*

8. temperari: *be moulded, i.e.* in the direction of wisdom and moderation. **potest**: *cf. possum*, p. 31. 2, note.

10. Ex quo: *i.e.* from the truth implied by the preceding question. **Sardanapalli**: the last ruler of the Assyrian kingdom of Nineveh. According to early tradition the date of his death is placed at 876 B.C. **Syriae**: Assyria is also elsewhere sometimes thus designated.

11. busto: *sepulchre.*

13. illa: freely, *yonder.*

15. inscriberes: contrary to fact; *cf. offerret*, p. 15. 22, note.

17. desiderentur: for the mood, see p. 40. 32, note. **ubi**: *in what respect.* **paupertas**: not so strong a word as *inopia; cf. de Senectute* 3. 8: *nec enim in summa inopia levis esse senectus potest, ne sapienti quidem.*

18. credo: *let us say.* **studes**: *you have a fancy (for).*

19. melius . . . fruuntur: *derive more pleasure (from).*

21. in publico: *i.e.* in places open to the public.

23. sua rura: *their private country estates.* **quos tamen**, etc.: *i.e.* they feel a prick of conscience, the works of art having been stolen from Greek shrines.

28. ignobilitas: *cf. nobilissimo*, p. 2. 25, note.

29. popularis offensio: *unpopularity.*

30. Vide, ne: see p. 36. 13, note. The thought of this clause is developed at p. 123. 16 ff. Meanwhile the speaker takes up the question raised in the preceding sentence, showing that mere popular estimates are of no value, and that they therefore need not be reckoned with at all. **commendatio in vulgus**: *favor curried with the masses.*

Page 123. **1. Leviculus**: *somewhat lacking in balance.* In connection with this criticism of Demosthenes it is interesting to note how Cicero was affected by the interest aroused by his own arrival and sojourn in Asia Minor; *cf. ad Fam.* ii. 10. 2: ***multum est enim in his locis 'Hicine est ille, qui urbem? quem senatus?' nosti cetera.*** See also *ad Att.* v. 13. 1, v. 16. 3. **noster**: he being a fellow-orator.

2. mulierculae: *a common woman.*

4. At: introducing a supposed objection, as often; *cf. At*, p. 39. 24.

5. non multum ipse secum: *i.e.* with the idea of disciplining his own mind. For the case of *ipse*, see p. 12. 26, note.

8. Veni Athenas: Democritus was a native of Abdera in Thrace; *Introd.* § 5 *c.*

9. adgnovit: *cf. adgnosco*, p. 8. 22.

10. a gloria se afuisse: *that he escaped popular recognition.* **An**, etc.: *cf.* p. 15. 5, note fin.

12. moderantur: *regulate.* **vir sapiens**: *i.e. a philosopher.*

15. singulos: *taken individually.* **sicut**: usually *ut* alone is written in such connections as this. **contemnas**: for the mood, *cf.* p. 38. 22, note.

16. aliquid . . . esse: *amount to something; cf. dixit aliquid*, p. 10. 19, note. **Ille**: *i.e.* the *vir sapiens* of line 12.

17. nostras ambitiones levitatesque: *our foolish ambitions.* The tone of this phrase is quite in keeping with the Epicurean doctrine that the philosopher should not engage in public life (*cf.* p. 124. 31 ff.), a doctrine under the shelter of which Atticus, the friend of Cicero, after nearly losing his life in the times of Sulla, resolutely refused to be drawn into public activity. Cicero himself did not really sympathize with this attitude, his characteristic Roman preference for active service to the state according rather with the Stoic view of the philosopher's duty in this particular (*cf.* p. 112. 5, note). It may be that his depression regarding the existing political situation (Introd. § 2, and p. 71. 24, note) adds to his remark here a touch of bitterness.

18. populi: *within the gift of the people.* **ultro delatos**: *i.e.* actually forced upon him. **nos . . . nescimus**: *we do not know enough (to); cf. vinci nesciant*, p. 104. 20, note.

19. paenitere coepit: *sc. nos.* As indicated by what follows, the underlying thought is that the prominent individual is apt to come to the point of regretting his prominence when the real character of his constituents (*i.e.* the masses) begins to make itself felt. **Est**: *there is a story; cf. est*, p. 2. 16.

20. physicum: *natural philosopher.* Heraclitus was an Ephesian, and lived about 500 B.C. **principe**: *a leader (among).* As a member of the aristocracy Hermodorus was naturally unpopular under a democratic regime. It is said also that his life was so pure that his fellow-citizens could not bear the contrast with their own. He was a contemporary of Heraclitus.

21. ait: evidently meant as a present (in quoting an extant writer), for the sequence is primary (see *quod . . . locuti sint*, lines 22–23). Consequently the present infinitive *esse . . . multandos* is odd and interesting, though logical enough, *i.e.* 'he declares the Ephesians (of his day) worthy of death for saying,' etc.

22. civitate expellerent: there is a tradition that, after being

exiled, Hermodorus visited Italy and assisted in the codification of the Laws of the Twelve Tables. For the tense of *expellerent*, see p. 85. 9, note.

23. unus excellat: *cf. una . . . excellebat*, p. 73. 5, note. **Sin quis extiterit**: *sc. talis.*

26. Graecorum: *sc. exempla.*

28. esset: note the mood. The real reason for Aristides' ostracism was political — he or Themistocles had to give way; but the fact that he was known as 'The Just' was used as a means of stirring up feeling against him (*cf.* Nepos, *Arist.* 1).

29. nihil omnino cum populo contrahunt: *have no dealings at all with the masses, i.e.* hold no positions that depend on their favor.

30. litterato: *scholarly.* **iis . . . litteris**: *that branch of study.* The ablative continues the construction of the preceding sentence. **dico**: *I mean.*

32. mundo: *world.* **caelum**: *atmosphere.*

Page 124. **3. ducitur**: *is classed.*

5. quam: *cf.* p. 61. 6, note.

6. plenae . . . provinciae: for business interests called many men away from Rome.

8. At: *cf.* p. 39. 24, note. **Quid tum?** *what of that?*

9. dicuntur: *i.e.* by philosophers.

10. Iam vero: *furthermore; cf. Iam*, p. 1. 18. This sentence resumes the line of thought interrupted by *At multantur*, etc., line 8. **si rerum naturam . . . quaerimus**: *if we look to the true inwardness of things.* **ignominiam**: *stigma.*

13. Xenocrates, etc.: the list is made representative by selecting examples from different schools and different periods; see Index I.

17. At enim: *cf.* p. 102. 22, note, and also *At* in line 8 above.

18. An potest quicquam ignominia: these words are supplied to fill a gap in the text. **sapientem**: here in the technical sense (see p. 9. 21, note).

20. id: *i.e.* exile. **possit**: the mood is due to the conditional suggestion lurking in *iure*; *cf. vinceret*, p. 114. 18, note.

21. Postremo: *in fine.* **ad omnis casus**, etc.: *most adjustable to every emergency is the philosophy of those who*, etc.

22. ad: *to the standard of; cf. ad*, p. 95. 5.

23. sequuntur: *strive for.* **haec**: *i.e. voluptas.*

24. itaque: *and in this* sense, namely, that happiness is quite as

possible in one place as in another. **ad omnem rationem**, etc.: *the words of Teucer may find an application to every phase (of life)*.

26. Patria, etc.: trochaic dimeter catalectic. The verse is quoted from the *Teucer* of Pacuvius (*cf.* p. 46. 29, note). The story runs that when Teucer and his brother Ajax set out for the Trojan war, their father Telamon forbade either to return without the other. The subsequent death of Ajax thus made it necessary for Teucer to seek a new home, which he found in Cyprus.

27. diceret: for the pleonasm, *cf. dicendum existimem*, p. 45. 20, note.

29. T. Albucius: governor of Sardinia in 105 B.C. On his return thence to Rome he was charged with extortion and convicted.

31. ipsum: *even; cf. ipsa*, p. 54. 10.

Page 125. **1. Epicuri legibus**: *cf.* p. 123. 17, note. The Epicurean watchword was λάθε βιώσας, *i.e.* 'live inconspicuously.' Elsewhere (*Brutus* 35. 131) Cicero speaks of Albucius as *perfectus Epicurius*. **Qui**: *cf. Qui*, p. 118. 15. In the following list the names of master and disciple are in each case paired together (*cf.* Introd. §§ 13–15). Though the son of an Athenian and himself a citizen of Athens, Epicurus — contrary to Cicero's apparent assumption here — was a native of Samos.

4. quo esset beatior: *i.e. in happiness*. Strictly the clause is one of result; *cf.* the frequent use of *quo* to introduce purpose clauses (p. 72. 26, note).

6. Tarquinii: *sc. Prisci*.

7. Cypselum: of the seventh century B.C. **Tarquinios**: a city in southern Etruria.

9. Num stulte anteposuit, etc.: *he was not foolish, was he, to prefer*, etc.

11. Iam vero: *cf.* p. 124. 10, note.

14. pluribus: *i.e. compluribus; cf. pluris*, p. 19. 4. For the sentiment here expressed, *cf.* p. 120. 20 ff.

15. quod quaerimus: *which is the goal of our investigation; cf. quem quaerimus*, p. 100. 28, note.

16. ut . . . sit: for the brachylogy, *cf.* p. 9. 9, note.

18. ipsa: *cf. ipsa*, p. 54. 10. **contemnit**: *esteems lightly*.

19. cum: (*and this I say*) *since*. The thought of this clause is not very clearly expressed. The speaker means to say that even those *who go so far as to* claim that the mind is not the seat of other kinds

of perception (contrast p. 21. 11 ff.) yet admit that it, and not the eye, is the ultimate seat of visual perception; *cf. Itaque credo*, etc., p. 17. 16, note.

20. sensibus: *sense organs.*

21. aspectu: *vision.* **non versari in . . . ulla iucunditate**: *have to do with no pleasure, i.e. cause no pleasure (to).*

23. in . . . versentur: *concern.* **ubi sentimus**: *by which we receive the sense impression.* For *ubi*, see the note on *quo* (*perveneri-mus*), p. 20. 24.

24. In: *cf. in*, p. 13. 25.

28. non ferme: *i.e. hardly ever.*

30. adimat: for the mood, see p. 40. 32, and the note there. **illud**: *cf. illa*, p. 5. 13, note.

31. Antipatri: said to have been a pupil of Aristippus himself (*cf.* p. 60. 8, note). **id quidem**: *to be sure; cf.* p. 3. 19, note fin.

Page 126. **1. Quid agitis?** *what are you thinking of?*

2. Appium . . . veterem illum: *i.e.* Appius Claudius the Censor, who built the Appian aqueduct and began the Appian Way. He was twice consul, and was prominent in literature as well as in politics; *cf. de Senectute* 6. 16.

4. in illo suo casu: *i.e. despite that personal affliction of his.*

5. C. Drusi: a famous lawyer of the second century B.C.

6. cum: (*an instance*) *where.*

7. quorum res esset: *i.e.* whose interests were at stake. **sua . . . non videbant**: *i.e.* did not see what was their best course.

10. Graecam: *in Greek.* **videbat**: *had insight.*

12. quod . . . esset: commonly regarded as a result clause; somewhat literally, *a thing such as hardly to be believed.* **cum . . . tum**: for the mood in the *cum*-clause, see B. 290. 2, A. 549. *b*, G. 588. 2.

13. antea: *i.e.* before he became blind.

14. Pythagoreorum more: the Pythagoreans regarded music as a means of ethical culture; *cf.* Introd. § 5 *a*.

17. geometriae munus tuebatur: *acted as a teacher of geometry.*

18. quamque: *i.e. quam* + *que*. For *quam*, *cf. quem*, p. 23. 5, note.

19. Eretricum: the school of philosophy thus designated was organized by Menedemus of Eretria, and took its name from that *town.* It supplanted the Elean school, which had been founded by *Phaedo*, a pupil of Socrates in whose honor one of Plato's dialogues

is named (*cf.* Introd. § 6). Asclepiades probably lived about 300 B.C.

21. esset comitatior: *his train was increased, i.e.* he now needed a boy to lead him. This pleasantry was doubtless suggested by the long retinues of the rich.

22. quibusdam Graecis: *sc. licet.* The reference is to parasites who paid for their meals by the entertainment they furnished.

23. possit, si non desint: the indicative might have been expected here, but the use of the subjunctive is not without parallel; *cf. de Nat. D.* i. 16. 43, ii. 4. 12. In this particular passage the choice of mood may have been determined by the impulse to make the two parts of the comparison similar in form.

24. subsidia valitudinum: *the comfort arising from soundness (in other respects)*. For the use of the plural, *cf. cantibus*, p. 2. 30, note. **Democritus**: *cf.* Introd. § 5 *c.*

26. bona mala, etc.: for the asyndeton, *cf.* p. 28. 9, note.

28. licebat: *it was his privilege.* **notione**: *understanding.*

29. aspectu: *cf. aspectu*, p. 125. 21.

32. extremitate: *boundary.* The wording of this sentence suggests the department of philosophy in which Democritus, like other early philosophers, was particularly interested; *cf.* Introd. § 5.

Page 127. **1. at eius picturam**, etc.: *yet his is a canvas . . . that we see. Cf.* Livy's "Pictured Page."

3. quae acies, etc.: *cf. quem*, p. 23. 5, note.

5. Quid ergo? *well then; cf. Quid*, p. 8. 3, note.

8. ni ita se res haberet: *i.e.* if it were not true that the happy life is to be found in mental activity. **Anaxagoras**: spending the best years of his life at Athens, Anaxagoras made that city a stronghold of philosophy. Finally becoming the object of persecution because of his friendship with Pericles, he withdrew voluntarily to Lampsacus, where he died about 430 B.C.; *cf.* p. 46. 8 ff. **hic ipse**: so designated because mentioned in the preceding section. Anaxagoras actually gave up his property to his kinsmen, and a similar story is told of Democritus; but according to another tradition the latter used up all his means in travel, being thus on his return home reduced to utter poverty.

11. fingunt: *portray (as).* **inducunt**: *bring upon (the stage); cf. inducunt*, p. 65. 22.

13. cum . . . finxisset: best rendered by a participial phrase.

15. facit: *represents* (*as*). When thus used *facere* may govern either a participle or an infinitive. In this passage the two constructions stand side by side, *conloquentem* and *laudare* being parallel in sense. The reference here seems to be to *Od.* ix. 447 ff., where Homer represents Polyphemus as addressing some remarks to his ram; but Cicero's report does not accord very well with the words of Polyphemus as there given.

16. hic: *i.e.* Homer.

17. nihilo . . . prudentior: *i.e.* he had no intellectual pleasures to offset his blindness.

19. M. Crassus: the triumvir. **sed aliud molestius**, etc.: the punning phrase *male audiebat* might mean either 'he heard poorly' or 'he heard himself defamed,' the underlying thought of the whole clause being that complete deafness would, under the circumstances, have been a boon to Crassus.

20. iniuria: among the charges brought against Crassus was that of being implicated in the conspiracy of Catiline. If it is of this charge that Cicero is here thinking, this expression of opinion on his part is interesting, though not conclusive; for his estimates of men and things are often very contradictory. Plutarch (*Crassus* 13. 4) is authority for the statement that Cicero at one time charged both Caesar and Crassus with implication in the conspiracy, and Sallust (*Bell. Cat.* 48. 9) declares that he personally heard Crassus complain that Cicero was the instigator of charges against himself.

21. nec: as though *Nec . . . sciunt* had preceded.

24. At: *cf. At*, p. 39. 24, note.

25. Ne . . . quidem: *cf. ne . . . quidem*, p. 6. 8, note.

30. his: *sc. cantibus* (*cf. cantus*, line 27).

31. paulo ante: *cf.* p. 126. 14 ff.

Page 128. **4. captus**: *i.e. incapacitated.*

5. per se ipsi, etc.: *i.e.* they kill the victim, thus providing a way of escape; *cf.* p. 73. 17, and *de Fin.* i. 15. 49.

6. sin, etc.: this turn of phrase renders unnecessary a word which would exactly balance *primum*, line 5.

8. quod: *cf.* p. 41. 7, note fin. **Portus enim praesto est**: one of the rare passages (*cf. de Fin.* i. 15. 49) where suicide is advocated in an Epicurean argument. For the Stoic view, see p. 32. 19, *note.* The introduction of this thought here strikes again the same *note* found at the end of Books i and ii (pp. 52. 28 ff. and 82. 28 ff.).

To the modern reader it may seem that such a climax is incongruous in a work that avowedly looks toward the happy life; but the ancient view point was different from ours. To a philosopher, particularly to a Stoic, suicide was the supreme act by which man may evince his independence of external circumstances — if he cannot rise above the ills of this life in other ways, by this final act he can shake them off. Suicide is thus made to appear a privilege rather than a reproach. In this connection too it may be remembered that in ancient times the taking of human life was not regarded as so serious a matter as it now is. Thus even in Sallust's day there is on record (*Bell. Cat.* 39. 5) the case of a senator who exercised the ancient prerogative which gave a father the absolute power of life and death over his son: and suicide in general was viewed as a thing from which a person might be dissuaded, but not constrained; *cf.* the case of Corellius Rufus (Pliny, *Ep.* i. 12). But even such considerations hardly dispel the gloom of a climax like this (*cf.* the depressing close of *de Senectute*), and the reader may be glad to contrast a more inspiring philosophy such as finds expression in Whittier's *My Psalm*. In his plan of the *Tusculan Disputations* Cicero brings in the reference to suicide at the proper points, and he seems really to have admired Cato's death. But on this subject as on many others (*cf.* Introd. § 23) his practice does not accord with the theory he advocates; at any rate when, during the time of his exile, he felt that he had reached the utmost depth of human wretchedness, he came no nearer suicide than to worry his friends with hints; *cf. ad Att.* iii. 19. 3: *mihique ex agro tuo tantum adsignes, quantum meo corpore occupari potest.*

9. nihil sentiendi receptaculum: *cf. commorandi . . . devorsorium, de Senectute* 23. 84.

10. Theodorus, etc.: *cf.* p. 45. 14 ff. The point of this anecdote and the one which follows is that death is not a thing to be feared.

11. cantharidis: *the Spanish fly*, a very poisonous insect.

12. Paulus: *i.e.* Lucius Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, who defeated Perseus (Perses) at Pydna. After this defeat Perseus surrendered, and in 167 B.C. graced a triumph greater than Rome had ever yet seen.

18. illa lex, quae . . . obtinetur: *that rule which is observed.*

19. bibat . . . abeat: the rule of conduct for any individual participant in the banquet. **inquit**: with indefinite subject: *cf.* p. 41. 12, note.

***20. fruatur* . . . discedat**: *cf. perficiat*, p. 48. 24, note.

22. Sic, etc.: the analogy suggested in the preceding sentence is not very apt. A rather better presentation of the same line of thought is found in *de Fin.* i. 15. 49: *aequo animo e vita, cum ea non placeat, tamquam e theatro exeamus.*

23. relinquas: with the same shading as seen above in *fruatur* and *discedat*, line 20 ff. Note that the subject is indefinite, as it is also in the subordinate clause; see B. 275. 2, A. 439. *a*, G. 263. 2. *a*, H. 560. 1, and p. 38. 22, note. **Haec eadem**, etc.: these words mark the end of the exposition of Epicurus' view, and remind the hearers of what was said at p. 118. 1 ff., namely, that if a good case can be made out for Epicurus, there will be no difficulty in handling the cases of Hieronymus and others whose views seem at first sight hard to reconcile with the thesis under discussion.

24. totidem verbis: *in just so many words.*

25. Quodsi ii philosophi, etc.: this sentence takes up again the thought of pp. 112. 19 to 113. 15, and the speaker once more identifies himself with the Stoics (*cf. nos*, line 27), reverting to his former attitude of hostility to the Epicureans. **ea**: *cf. eam*, p. 18. 12, note. **ut . . . valeat**: *i.e.* in their judgment; for the brachylogy involved, see p. 9. 9, note. Curiously enough, in the following clause (line 28) the full form *esse dicant* is used.

27. cassum quiddam, etc.: *a visionary idea, dignified by an empty flow of words; cf.* p. 112. 26 ff.

28. ei: resuming *ii philosophi*, line 25.

29. a Socrate . . . profectis philosophis: as appears from what follows, Cicero is using this phrase in a somewhat restricted sense, *i.e.* he is thinking particularly of the Old Academy, the Peripatetics, and the Stoics. The case of *philosophis* is dative.

Page 129. **1. ne . . . quidem**: *i.e.* in no degree whatsoever.

2. omnia: *sc. bona.*

3. honorarius: *unofficial.* As contrasted with a *iudex*, an *arbiter* in general was not bound to such impersonal and technically exact treatment of a case. **Carneades**: *cf.* Introd. § 15, and p. 116. 11 ff.

4. commoda: *i.e. praecipua; cf.* p. 102. 22, note fin.

5. plus tribuerent divitiis: *hold in higher esteem riches; cf. quid homini tribuam*, p. 22. 22.

7. cum: temporal. **ea**: accusative.

8. hunc locum: this point, namely *sapientem semper esse beatum* (*cf.* p. 128. 28 ff.).

9. obtinere: *maintain.*

10. viderint: *must consider; cf. viderit*, p. 11. 27, note. **tamen**: *i.e.* despite the fact that they are involved in a logical tangle.

12. voce: to be construed with *dignum*, line 11.

13. est eundum: *i.e.* the party must break up.

14. Equidem: *cf.* p. 11. 30, note.

15. ubi: *on what; cf. quo* (*pervenerimus*), p. 20. 24, note.

16. cuicuimodi est: *such as it is.* Cicero cannot think with enthusiasm of his enforced leisure; *cf.* Introd. § 2. The form *cuicui* is here genitive; *cf.* A. 151 *b*, N. 1, G. 105. N. 4. **Brutum**: *cf.* p. 1. 3, note.

17. alteros quinque: a previous set of five books (*de Finibus*) had already been dedicated to Brutus; *cf.* Introd. § 17.

18. philosophiae scriptiones: *ventures in the field of philosophy.*

19. lacessiti: *challenged;* said with reference to the fact that Brutus had dedicated to Cicero a treatise *de Virtute* (*cf.* p. 84. 4 ff., and p. 1. 3, note). **In quo**: *i.e.* in producing philosophical works.

20. dixerim: for the mood, *cf. erraverim*, p. 18. 8, note. The use of the singular (despite *profuturi simus* in line 19, and *nostris* in line 20) might be justified, if justification were necessary, on the ground that *non* (*haud*) *facile dixerim* is a stereotyped phrase. But Cicero uses the first person plural for the singular so freely and so widely that such a combination of singular and plural as is here found calls for no explanation; *cf.* p. 85. 13–14, and *de Senectute* 2. 5: *si sapientiam meam admirari soletis . . . , in hoc sumus sapientes.*

22. levatio: *cf.* Introd. § 2.

INDEX I

NAMES OF PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT AND INTRODUCTION

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L. Iunius Brutus: leader in the expulsion of the Tarquins; 39. 14.
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